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SPECIAL REPORT

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LETTERS

TRUE PERMANENCE

I was pumled to read in your recent article that the environmentally aware people might lose their battle to save the Catskill Valley because the logging company was going to create "300 permanent jobs" ("A low-lying fight," *Environment*, June 16). You are clearly redefining the word permanent—at least, the logging of a valley is a transient or temporary job. And preserving the ecosystem of the valley would ensure a lasting habitat in which such the tallest trees and flourishing humans would survive on a truly permanent basis.

Howard Laurence,
Heron, B.C.

AWKWARD READING

The June-July issue of *Nobel* in Canada suggested that I should buy the beachside book *Notes, Poems and Occasional Writings* by the author, Saul Turner, was "a fine writer." The June 12 edition of *Maclean's* and I should buy the book, even though Turner was "an awkward stylist" ("Diamonds are forever," *Books*). I bought the book. I found Turner a superb writer, which leads me to believe that your reviewer may be an awkward reader.

Melinda Bate,
Ottawa

ENTERTAINING CRONIES

In "The sounds and looking out" (*Cover*, June 12), it was revealed that corporate donors who paid \$5 million toward the cost of the Seaside now receive benefits such as free use of luxury suites for 37 years. It would be interesting to know who will receive those benefits other than the Toronto corporate elite who will entertain their cronies and pay outrageous prices for access and backstage. While the cost of it has been argued to equate one fifth, Finance Minister Michael Wilson will allow those corporations to claim an 80-per-cent tax write-off for the food and drink consumed. So the rich (the supposed god richer and the shareholders are left to serve our meagre dividend cheques.

Margaret Archibald,
Chatham, Ont.

NEVER-ENDING HYPOCRISY

It seems that hypocrisy is getting in overdrive. Your review of *True Among the Heavens* ("A people in pain," *Books*, May 29) details the continued oppression that one Central American people has faced for decades. This oppression has been carried out for the better part of a century with the acceptance,



Spruce forest: a lasting habitat

even encouragement, of U.S. foreign policy. Yet this story is consigned to the back review pages, while American opposition to Pinochet's dictator Manuel Noriega (in the name of democracy, of course) is given continued media coverage, including in this very issue of *Maclean's*.

Pat Murphy,
Winnipeg

REAL FLESH AND BLOOD

As a Trekker, I resent your calling *Star Trek* a "superhero spectacle" ("Climb of faith," *Film*, June 13). One of the strengths of *Star Trek* as fiction is that the characters are not portrayed as superheroes but as real flesh-and-blood human beings, vulgans, klugeans, leucocids, rancidians and postmodernists.

James McNair,
Edmonton, Ont.

DESCENDING ORDER?

In "Top leaders only, please" (*Opening Notes*, June 18), the premise appears to be that speakers to the annual Conrad Black/ Hollinger Inc. event are selected on an ascending scale—Margaret Thatcher last year, Ronald Reagan this year, and then possibly God. That may not be the true direction of the Thatcher-Reagan order. We will know more when the next speaker is selected. Keep us posted.

Paula S. Doolin,
Windsor, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should include names, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, 400 King Street West, 177 King St. West, 10th Floor, Toronto, Ont. M5X 1A7.

PASSAGES

DIED: *Isidor (Baz) Feinstein Stone, 81*, the fiery American journalist and chivalricist who wrote whose book *Isidor Feinstein Stone: A Life in Letters* with his son, Isidor Feinstein Stone, was published in 1983 and is a biographical work. In his influential newsletter, *IF Stone's Weekly* (which he published from 1963 to 1989 and in a biographical work, *Isidor Feinstein Stone: A Life in Letters*, D.C., 1989) when he founded the *Postscript* for maintaining the public. A biographical work of public records, *Stone* reported on the accumulation of his work in the small print of official documents, and his biographical work in *Isidor Feinstein Stone: A Life in Letters* (1983) published his best-selling book, *The Trial of Socrates*.



DIED: *Former Montreal politician Lucien Bouchard, 72*, who with former mayor Jean Drapeau co-founded the city's long-dormant Civic party. Bouchard helped develop many of the city's major projects, including Expo 67 and the metro system.

DIED: *Canadian American football star John McVay, 35*, who retired from the game in 1982 after playing as a defensive lineman with the Oakland Raiders from 1976 to 1982 and helping the team win the Super Bowl in 1976 and 1980, of heart failure in Los Angeles.

BIOGRAPHY: *Michael Barrymore, 41*, an artistic director of the American Ballet Theatre, effective July 1980. The superstar who took over the New York City-based company in 1980 joined the troupe in

1974 following his defection to the West while in Syria with the Soviet Union's KGB ballet company. Barrymore said that he is relinquishing his post to pursue other "professional options."

NAMED: *Movie actor William Hurt, 38*, in a multimillion-dollar primary set by his former love company, director *Barbara Jennings, 39*, in a New York City court. Jennings—who in 1987 received \$17,600 for child support from Hurt for their two-year-old son—is suing her as much as an act of her's estimated \$5-million earnings since 1982. The pair they lived for 20 weeks in South Carolina. The couple, who were together from 1981 to 1986, had their home in New York state, which, while South Carolina, does not recognize common-law marriages.

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James A. and Antoinette W. with history. Available 2000. French Horn Photo: Michel Pilon



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shall thy sons
command.
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hearts
we see thee
rise,
The True North
strong and
free!
From far and
wide,
O Canada,
We stand on
guard for thee
God keep
our land
glorious and
free!
O Canada,
we stand on
guard for thee
O Canada,
we stand on
guard for thee.



Canada Day

Celebrate
our heritage.
July 1st



The Council for Canadian Unity
A non-profit organization
Founded in 1964

CANADA



Bullock: the 'national tragedy' of a federal tax as well as provincial taxes

ated the "avoidability" of the current manufacturing tax, which does not appear in a separate calculation for consumers, so one of its more defects. He said that while the new tax was imposed, consumers would see what they were paying. But he went on to concede that Ottawa may not have the authority to force businesses to calculate the tax separately.

In response, consumers' advocates adamantly claimed that a tax that was not clearly visible could easily be abused. Said Radhwan Soplewasi, policy director for the 126,000-member Consumers' Association of Canada: "If the tax is levied on every invoice, there is a strong disincentive to cheating on it." But without that political assistance, he added, future governments bent on deficit reduction may be more inclined to increase the levy whenever they need more money. Declared Michael Widay, director of the Vancouver-based Fraser Institute, a conservative economic think-tank: "If this type of hidden tax can be passed that is no time it will be up to the old rate of 12.5 per cent." Widay added that he would withdraw support for Wilson's proposal if it is not made visible to consumers.

In Ottawa, agitation circles also noted that including the hidden-once-a-year prices would make provincial sales taxes higher. That is because they would be levied on the total price incorporating the federal tax—an effect known among economists as tax "cascading"—rather than on the actual price. Indeed, Liberal finance critic Roy MacLaren said that Wilson "is leaving the provinces with no alternative but to put their tax on top of the new per-cent federal tax—it is a double taxation." In a province such as Ontario with an eight-per-cent sales tax, the cascading effect of a further six-per-cent federal tax would add an extra 72 cents to the cost of a \$100 item. Conversely, provincial sales taxes are calculated on prices that include the existing federal manufac-

ture tax on top of up to 16 per cent on some goods.

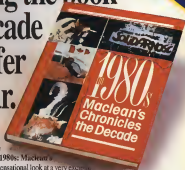
While these controversies will unravel, senior Conservatives said privately that they expected to face further debate over eligibility for exemptions. In 1987, the minister proposed to limit that problem by taxing all sales transactions—including food and medicine—but at a lower rate. That proposal, which would have delivered roughly the same revenue to Ottawa as a new per-cent tax on fewer transactions, was the endorsement of economists as well as the Consumers' Association. But provincial officials and Conservative strategists remained Wilson that there would be a common political cost to taxing food and drugs. Said Ottawa lobbyist Samuel Hapton, a former head of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce: "Any politician who takes food is crazy. But since you make a single exception, you open Pandora's box."

Wilson has since discovered that the box is a large one. He has received letters from three teachers worried about the impact of the tax on music lessons, and letters from the Canadian Bar Association arguing that legal services are a basic right and should not be taxed.

Whatever choices he makes in the policy paper expected to be released this week, or as the legislation in the fall, Wilson may already have lost the battle to create his new tax politically palatable. Brent Fynn, senior member of the opposition Canadian Tax Foundation in Toronto, for one, said that "the idea that it will be a tax on goods is fairly good as people's minds." It is a view that Wilson will have to counter convincingly if the Conservative government is to avoid feeling the full weight of his opponents' in political support—even before it counts the first sales tax dollars in 1991.

MARK CLARK with LISA LOY DAVISON on
Ottawa and GLEN ALLAN in Montreal

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

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Caught in Starr wars

A widening scandal claims a political adviser

Gon-faced and clearly shaken, David Peterson confronted reporters outside his Queen's Park office last week. The Ontario premier announced that Gordon Ashworth, his executive director and closest political aide, had resigned. Earlier in the day, Ashworth, one of the most powerful men in the Ontario government, had acknowledged that he had received a free refrigerator and housewarming gift from a company owned by Tridel Enterprises Inc.—controlled by Elvira Del Zotto, president of the Ontario wing of the federal Liberal party. Moreover, the benefits had been arranged by Patricia Starr, a controversial Peterson-government appointee at the centre of a scandal over political donations made from a fund that she operated for a charity. Said Peterson: "I feel like I've been kicked in the head." And he pledged, "I intend to get to the bottom of this."

The next day, June 23, Peterson ordered a public inquiry into the Starr affair. His government's second major embarrassment of the month. On June 5, Solicitor General Jean Smith resigned in the face of opposition criticism of

two contacts she had with police officers conducting investigations. Then, on June 8, Starr resigned from her post as chairman of Ontario Place, a Toronto lakeside recreational facility. She was facing revelations in the Toronto media that she had channelled more than \$62,000 of charitable funds from the local branch of the National Council of Jewish Women, of which she was president, to Liberal and Conservative politicians and to Liberal activists. The federal Income Tax Act prohibits charities from making such contributions, and Ontario legislation bans the use of individual donations that a politician can accept. Finally, with Ashworth's resignation from his \$190,000-a-year job, the Starr affair penetrated the Ontario premier's inner circle. Said provincial NDP leader Bob Rae: "Corruption has entered into the heart of the Peterson government."

The events leading up to Ashworth's departure happened quickly. According to one Ashworth confidant, Ontario Treasurer Robert Nixon heard a rumor at a business lunch on June 21 that Ashworth was implicated in the

Starr affair. Nixon relayed the information to Peterson that afternoon, and the following morning the two men conducted Ashworth. The 30-year-old aide acknowledged that two men had painted the outside of his two-story North Toronto house for two days in September, 1987, and said that he had received a new refrigerator the same month, but said that he thought they had been paid for flat, he said in a later written statement to reporters, when he checked his financial records with his wife, he discovered that he had not received invoices for the items and had not paid for them. Ashworth promptly resigned. Added Ashworth: "Patricia Starr was involved in making the arrangements for both the refrigerator and the bloomer."

Peterson acknowledged that he could not immediately answer opposition politicians who demanded to know whether any favors had been dispensed by Ashworth as a result of the gifts. As Peterson's executive director, Ashworth oversaw more than 1,000 patronage appointments made by the premier's office each year. Said Queen's Park insiders scoffed at suggestions that Ashworth had been involved in any misconduct. Said David MacNaughton, chairman of the Liberals' 1987 campaign: "Gordon is not going to sell his soul for a free refrigerator." And others said that Del Zotto had no need to resort to gifts as a sale in order to gain the premier's ear. Said one provincial caucus's assistant: "Elvira doesn't have to buy a refrigerator for Ashworth in

order to get access to the premier. He's got enough power and money of his own."

Still, the public inquiry ordered by Peterson is certain to examine Tridel's involvement in the Starr affair. Del Zotto herself also attracted his lawyers to conduct an internal investigation into the gifts that Ashworth received. According to published reports, some of the \$62,000 in charity funds that Starr dispensed went to people affiliated with Tridel. In one case, Starr donated \$1,000 for a reception for Del Zotto during his successful 1986 campaign for the presidency of the Ontario wing of the federal Liberal party.

The money came from a \$257,000 capital account that Starr administered at the Toronto branch of the National Council of Jewish Women. Most of the money in the fund was received in the form of a sales-tax rebate from the provincial government in connection with the completion in 1986 of a nonprofit apartment complex sponsored by the charity. Tridel acted as the developer of the complex—it received



Starr, Peterson's resignation rocks Ontario's premier



assistance from Central Mortgage and Housing Corp.—and a Tridel company now manages the building.

Meanwhile, Peterson has lost one of his most trusted aides. Ashworth was a key election strategist for Peterson in 1985, when the

Liberal model 42 years of Conservative rule in Ontario, and again in 1987, when the party swept 96 of 130 seats. Said Liberal consultant Patrick Gossage after Ashworth's resignation: "I have never seen the premier so upset. It is a real blow." Added Peterson's principal secretary, Vacant Burg: "It's personally difficult to be speaking through a lawyer to a former colleague and friend."

But the building is likely to continue. Published reports have listed some of Peterson's ministers to political donations by Starr, and several of them could lose their jobs at a cabinet shuffle widely expected in July. The police who is asked to head the judicial inquiry will be empowered to subpoena witnesses to testify under oath, and could recommend criminal charges. But even if that does not happen, the provincial police would still be free to act on evidence that the inquiry uncovers.

PAUL KADILA AND FRANKIE TROSCIO AND LISA DON DAVEN in Ottawa



EVOLUTION



THE EVOLUTION OF BEER

EXECUTION IN CHINA

DESPITE GLOBAL CONDEMNATION, CHINA'S RULERS BEGAN EXECUTING PRODEMOCRACY DEMONSTRATORS

The executioners went to work in China last week. They set about their grim task with chilling efficiency, beginning in a stadium on the outskirts of Shanghai. Three young men, accused of taking part in the "counterrevolutionary rebellion" that culminated at the June 4 massacre at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, were led before a solemn crowd of 3,000 assembled in the stadium. Leaders' denouncing the crimes of the condemned prisoners—two factory workers and an unemployed man—were circulated for "educational purposes." Then, they were led away for execution. (The usual practice in China is for a single bullet to be fired into the base of the victim's skull, killing him instantly.) As if to stress that the execution was not an isolated occurrence, the next day 24 more Chinese citizens suffered a similar fate. Seventeen "criminals" were executed in Beijing. Seventeen others "had elements," as authorities described them, were put to death in Jiang, the capital of the Chinese Shandong province.

Less than a month after the savage at Tiananmen Square, the grip of old men who run China showed no signs of easing the repression that has been gathering momentum ever since soldiers brutally cracked the student-led pro-democracy movement—killing as many as 3,000 dead by official estimates. Even before the execution last week, many of China's trading partners, Canada included, were moving restlessly in the direction of some form of political

and economic sanctions in the wake of the deaths, the outrage was nearly universal, prompting some demands for stronger responses. But none of it appeared to have the slightest impact on the Chinese leadership, who accelerated the campaign against dissent. And it wasn't just, moreover, Communist party chief Zhao Ziyang—who had opposed the use of force against demonstrators—was removed from office and replaced by Shanghai party chief Jiang Zemin.

On June 22, the same day as the execution in Beijing and Jiang, official media announced the arrest of 12 people accused of being agents of a 3,000-member "secret society" of the civil nationalist government of Taiwan. Another defiant front-page headline appeared in the People's Daily, the official organ of the Communist party: "China will not bow to foreign pressure." This declaration

copied a statement from Premier Li Peng, the man who signed the decree on May 20 requiring aerial law. "The key problem," the hard-line premier said, "lies in the fact that there are some people at home and abroad who dislike China's socialist system and the Communist party's leadership."

In terms of the party, China's leadership is currently following. Li's assessment was reflected in official criticism of the San Francisco Mayor's Mission to China. Last week, President George Bush also cut off high-level diplomatic contacts and—under mounting pressure from some congressmen to take more drastic action—was one small step further by announcing that he would urge international lending institutions to postpone loans to China. One of those institutions—the World Bank—did just that, freezing approximately \$200 million that was to be the

Banker says his "deep regrets that these sanctions have gone forward." British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said she was "deeply appalled." West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher claimed that the killings left him with "abhorrence, bitterness and deep sadness." France, Italy, Spain and dozens of other countries all condemned the Chinese repression.



pipeline until one of its officers completes an on-site assessment of the situation. Similarly, Japan, one of China's major trading partners, put on hold a \$7-billion aid package that was scheduled to begin next year. The 12-nation European Community, which trades second in trade with China, may follow suit in the weeks when the leaders of the community gather for a summit in Madrid. However, Western governments are reluctant to exact too much pressure. Reprising Bush's measured re-

sponse to the Tiananmen protests, Canadian officials. Even if Ottawa chose to adopt tough economic sanctions, it remains doubtful whether Canadian business would follow suit. A national round table of 60 China specialists from business, government and the academic world convened in the capital last week as part of the effort by the Mulroney government to formulate a response to the situation in China. The results were mixed. Clark said that the group arrived at a general consensus that "there cannot be business in a world with a regime that has carried out the kinds of actions that the Chinese government has." But not all of those who participated agreed. Marcel Dufour, president of the Montreal-based engineering and consulting firm Lavalee Inc., told Maclean's that his company has worked to gain access to the Chinese market for five years and was not about to give up on its investment. And Frederick Schlegel, a manager at the Royal Bank of Canada, declared, "As long as we have got customers in China, we will be there to serve them."

China's leadership made clear that it is counting heavily on such business interests to prevail. And that calculation clearly followed the execution. Chinese Vice Premier Tian Jiyuan warned countries that do not want to do business with China to be prepared to be replaced by their competition. "Whoever completes the market will prosper it afterward," said Tian. He added, "There is no country that does not want to trade. If a country does not come, another will."

Whatever the accuracy of that prediction, it does help to explain why China's leaders remain so impervious to external pressure. Convinced that the line of the world's most populous market will eventually overcome Western containment, they continue to harden old ties of dissent. By week's end, Chinese officials had acknowledged the more than 1,600 people have already been placed under arrest, while police continue to search for "counterrevolutionaries." And although the protesters that were released last week may well have been the first since troops cleared Tiananmen Square, many observers say that they may not be the last.

World Notes

PEACE IN ANDOLA
Angola's Marxist President José Eduardo dos Santos ordered market jamaa Shomvi, 14-year and war. These suspects, captured in neighboring Zaire—at which the Santos pledged to form a government of national unity—agreed to clear the last hurdle to a regional peace accord. In December, South Africa, which backed Dos Santos, agreed to independence for Namibia in exchange for the withdrawal of 26,000 Cuban troops supporting the Santos in north-east Angola.

ISRAEL'S HIGH FIST
Following the stabbing death of a Jewish settler in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir vowed to crush Palestinian violence "with an iron fist." And as a sign of that tougher stance, the government executed two men, Yusef Mustafa and Mustafa Mordechai, in connection with the West Bank. Still, Shamir's order promises from right to left within his own Likud party to abandon plans for Palestinian statehood in the West Bank and Gaza. Shamir said that he will resign if he loses a scheduled party vote on the proposal.

A SOLIDARITY SWEEP
In runoff elections for candidates who were less than 50 per cent of the vote in Poland's June 4 poll, Solidarity increased its margin of victory. The new legislature was an additional seat in the 460-seat parliament for a total of 163 seats—the maximum allowed for opposition candidates. In the 1993 vote, Solidarity polled 40 per cent of the vote.

A BUREAU TO THUNDER
In European Parliament elections, British Conservatives lost seats to Labour candidates—mostly securing a 45-to-52 Tory majority. Some critics blamed the loss on Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who, despite supporting the creation of a single European market by 1992, has been a vocal opponent of the single monetary union. Overall, Solidarity throughout Europe scored the largest sweeps in the 518-member parliament.

EXPLOSION FROM BULGARIA
Agriculture minister announced that about 80,000 ethnic Turks have fled to neighboring Turkey and that as many as 250,000 more are planning to leave. The mass movement began in May when police cracked widespread protests by the country's 1.5 million Muslim Turkish minority against forced military service.



Zhang's diplomatic protest

AP/WIDEWORLD

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WORLD

GREECE

Scandal and stalemate

An election creates a modern Greek drama

The Greeks have a word for it: *tsakouni*. It means a thorough cleaning—which is what conservative New Democracy party leader Constantinos Mitsotakis promised the Greek electorate if it voted the scandal-plagued Proteroflex Socialist Movement out of office in the June 18 general election. But although the voters did just that, giving New Democracy 44 per cent of the poll and forcing PASOK prime minister Andreas Papandreu to resign after eight years in power, they left the conservatives six seats short of a parliamentary majority. And when Mitsotakis predictably failed last week to persuade the far-right third force in Greek politics to join an interim coalition to perform the promised cleanup, that left Greece in a stale for which the Anglo-Saxons have a word: *deadlock*.

The next move is a complex constitutional game was for the disgraced Papandreu to try to oust Kiriakos Phokas, the Communist leader of the Coalition of Labour and Progressive Forces, to share power with him. PASOK's 125 seats and the leftist coalition's 28 would add up to a slender majority in the 300-seat parliament. But before he could open negotiations with Phokas, the 59-year-old Papandreu—who underwent major heart surgery last year—was stricken with pneumonia and rushed to hospital, making his chances of success seem flimsy. Although the far left might normally consider PASOK a natural ally, sharing power with Papandreu at this point would also mean sharing the odium of the sexual and financial scandals that have swirled around him and his administration for months. And with Papandreu's health once more in doubt, it seemed likely that Greece would soon have to go to the polls again—possibly as early as September.

Until waves of scandal began to break around him a year ago, Papandreu had seemed assured of a third term. Then his long-running liaison with Demetra (Mimi) Lina, a former air hostess half his age, became public knowledge. Opposition newspapers published nude photographs of Lina, while the embarrassed Papandreu used his 46-year-old, U.S.-born wife, Margaret, for a divorce that was finalized one day after the election. Next to break was a long-smoldering scandal involving George Karolakis, the owner of the Bank of Greece, and the misuse of \$252 million in government funds—much of which allegedly ended up in the pockets of Papandreu's colleagues and friends. Indeed, Karolakis, 34—who fed Greece last November and is currently in jail in the United States awaiting trial on a variety of charges—

has threatened to produce hard evidence incriminating Papandreu himself.

Papandreu tried to dismiss the Bank of Greece scandal as a CIA plot to discredit him because of his declared opposition to the maintenance of U.S. military bases in Greece. But, clearly, a significant number of Greek voters did not accept that explanation. Despite Papandreu's solid support in rural districts, his government's control of radio and television, and the lack of charisma of his main opponent, Mitsotakis, his party's share of the vote fell to 39 per cent from 46 per cent in 1993. Unbowed, Papandreu tried to give those results a positive spin. "The Greek people gave a majority to the

democratic progressive forces and excluded the Right from returning to power," he said. Mitsotakis's failure to win more than 145 seats, despite his advertising, earned him the criticism of many in his own party. Still, he declared, "The Greek people in their overwhelming majority have condemned the black government and its scandals and corruption."

In fact, it was Phokas's leftist coalition, finishing a distant third, that emerged from the election with enhanced political power. Because of a new electoral system, under which it doubled its representation in parliament without increasing its share of the vote, the coalition cracked the two-party pattern of Greek politics and emerged as a key power broker. Throwing its support to the temptation to join a coalition government would give the Communists a share of power in Greece for the first time in decades. And that added another twist to the plot of the Greek drama playing in an extraordinary political audience in Athens last week.

JOHN REEDMAN with **PETER TOWNSHIP** in Athens

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SOVIET UNION

Good neighbors again

Moscow and Tehran forge a new friendship

In his traditional costume of long, flowing robes and with a white turban around his head, Akhbar Hashemi Rafsanjani appeared in an unusual visitor in an unlikely setting. But as Rafsanjani, the Speaker of Iran's parliament, met Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin's cavernous St. Catherine's Hall last week, such was meant to be determined to act the other at once. And following two days of meetings, Rafsanjani, 58, the highest-ranking Iranian leader to visit the Soviet Union since its country's 1979 Islamic revolution, warmly praised Gorbachev's policies. He also extended his trip to visit Leningrad and Baku—the capital of the largely Muslim Soviet republic of Azerbaijan. Said Rafsanjani, the sole candidate for Iran's presidency in elections scheduled for July 26. "New horizons have really opened up [and] our optimism has been greatly justified."

With such remarks, the two nations—which share a nearly 2,000-km-long border—made their most dramatic step toward healing the deep rifts that developed during the 10-year reign of Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who died on June 3. In their talks, Rafsanjani and Gorbachev signed a number of agreements, ranging from the expansion and improvement of existing international railway lines to plans for Iran to participate in a joint space flight with the Soviets. Perhaps most importantly for Moscow, Rafsanjani pledged that his government will not become involved in Soviet internal affairs. With more than 30 million Soviet Muslims, the Kremlin is wary of Islamic fundamentalism spreading to Soviet Central Asia from Iran. And for the Islamic—who see attempting to rebuild their country after a devastating eight-year war with Iraq—a Soviet pledge to co-optate "in strengthening [Iran's] defense capability" was a major victory. Although no details of that agreement were made public, Soviet armed forces chief Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev said that Moscow was considering arms sales to Iran.

That co-operative spirit contrasted sharply with the demagogic of Soviet-Iranian relations over the past decade. Moscow had enjoyed generally warm relations with the Shah of Iran before his ouster in 1979. But under Khomeini's Islamic revolutionary government, millions of Iranian called for the destruction of both the Soviet Union and the United States as "imperialists of Satan." After years of mutual mistrust and antagonism—Moscow accused the Iran in the Iran-Iraq war while Tehran backed Muslim rebels against Soviet troops in the



Rafsanjani (left), Gorbachev: economic agreements

Soviet Union and the United States as "imperialists of Satan." After years of mutual mistrust and antagonism—Moscow accused the Iran in the Iran-Iraq war while Tehran backed Muslim rebels against Soviet troops in the

Afghanistan conflict—Gorbachev in clearly exploiting Iran's isolation from Western countries. In February, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met with Khomeini, and the two sides set the date for Rafsanjani's visit to Moscow.

In fact, Khomeini's meeting with Shevardnadze gave Rafsanjani a crucial opening at home. In Khomeini's will, last updated in 1987, he promised "the curse of God" upon both the United States and the Soviet Union as "oppressors" of Muslims. But before leaving Tehran for Moscow last week, Rafsanjani said that Khomeini had had a change of heart toward the Kremlin. At the same time, Rafsanjani, who is known among many Iranians as "the clerk" for his ability to navigate Iran's tortuous political waters, insisted that the United States had "declared direct war on us."

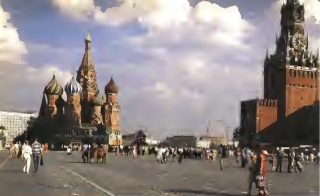
Those statements reflected Rafsanjani's optimism to appease hard-liners at home and establish his power. For their part, the Soviets clearly viewed Rafsanjani's cordial visit as a sign that a potentially troublesome neighbor had been neutralized. As well, the Kremlin stands to gain influence in the strategic Persian Gulf, through which much of the world's oil is shipped. Said a Moscow-based Western diplomat, "It is the ultimate marriage of convenience." After an uncomfortable estrangement, there are reasons enough for reconciliation between neighbors.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Moscow

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BUSINESS

REBELS WITH A BALANCE

By Soviet standards, it was a smallish when Moscow artist Alexander Serebriakoff sold two abstract paintings, *The Black Shell* and *Barbary*, to foreign buyers at a Gorbachev's auction last July in Moscow for the equivalent of \$23,263. But by the time Serebriakoff, the world-famous artist dealer, had taken his 33-per-cent commission, the Soviet ministry of culture 33 per cent and the ministry of finance another 36 per cent, Serebriakoff was left with only \$1,579. And despite the fact that the paintings—the first officially sanctioned sale to foreigners since the Communist Revolution in 1917—were paid for in pounds sterling, he received only the equivalent of \$758 at that currency. The former ministry gave him the rest as rubles—a scarce

SOVIET ARTISTS AND ATHLETES WANT TO KEEP MORE OF THE DOLLARS THEY EARN ABROAD

Red Square: Zvereva opposes the state takes the firm's share

cy that Serebriakoff says is not as valuable because it cannot be used abroad. The clearly angry artist told *Newsweek*, "And I haven't even seen that yet."

Serebriakoff is not alone in his anger as the tight strings over who controls the proceeds from so-called hard-currency sales in the U.S.S.R. Under Soviet law, foreign-currency is invariably placed in a bank account that can only be drawn on under two conditions: when a person travels to Western countries, or when shipping at one of Moscow's special foreign-currency stores, which stock pools unavailable in normal state-run shops. Even then, the money is transferred directly in the stores by the banks. By operating in that fashion, the government tries to prevent its citizens from exchanging hard-currency for rubles on the black market at as much as 15 times the official rate of 53 per ruble. But under Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's more open economic policies, at present, Soviet artists are encouraged to sell their works and skills abroad. At the same time, Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, or self-censoring, requires government-controlled organizations to open more foreign currency. The result is a growing struggle between artists, performers and athletes, and the state, which is sending some and many of them to the West to spend its share for dollars.

A second Soviet tennis star, Andrei Chornikov, won \$71,000 at an Orlando, Fla., tournament last year but was allowed to keep just \$547. Chornikov says, "I don't want \$47,000—the French paid me and said that he intends to keep it. To date, the Soviet Tennis Association has issued orders to tennis star R. Rytarev, Zvereva emphasized that she had not defected. She added, "I

emerging private sector, high levels in his foreign-currency sales are hurting his ability to function. He pays what he says is an exorbitant 60-per-cent tax on his foreign earnings, and the remaining 38 per cent can only be taken in rubles. If he wants to earn that 38 per cent out into a foreign currency, he has to top it from the ministry of finance at the official rate, even though the money is already his. Said Kasper: "It's a government black market."

For basketballer like Korpor, and such athletes as top Soviet tennis star Natalia Zvereva, it is not just the ministry of finance and culture that appear to be getting—but even the very organizations that represent them abroad. In fact, the percentage of earnings that the government allows artists to keep from their sales at Gorbachev's is high when compared to how much they are left with when they follow their only other legal method of selling their talents in the West—through the U.S.S.R. Union of Artists. The union takes 60 per cent, and the ministry of finance 58 per cent, leaving the artist with a slim 12 per cent. For his part, Pavel Khramovskiy, director of the artists' union, said, "Right now the ministry of culture takes, and what the union takes, only covers the expenses of arranging for the exhibitions." But Serebriakoff said that even if that is the case, it is still far too much. He added, "They don't even take the money."

Several elite Soviet athletes are publicly railing the huge tax bite. In April, tennis star Zvereva told a news conference at the Beach & Luth Championships in Amelia Island, Fla., that she earned \$433,624 in prize money in 1988. All of her earnings went to the Soviet Tennis Federation, which takes her insurance and charges and pays her only \$1,200 a week plus expenses for her training. Zvereva railed south in the world by the International Tennis Association, signed with the New York City-based sports management company Perfecor and says that she will stop turning her earnings over to the federation. Said Zvereva: "I want to exercise my rights as professional players in the workforce, which means that I must receive my prize money directly."

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want to support my country both financially and in an international competition."

Zvereva says that her own personal association of the Soviet state sports commission, is responsible for all of the Soviet sports ministry's financial contracts with foreign countries. Its ability to operate under glasnost will be drastically reduced if other Soviet athletes and artists rebel with Zvereva. Sports commission takes of last half of each athlete's earnings, splitting the money with its parent corporation, Goskomport.

The amount of money a state has grown sharply. Soviet soccer player Alexander Zverev signed last August with the Italian Juventus team, for \$6 million. Juventus paid \$2.4 million to Goskomport, \$2.4 million to his Soviet home club and \$1.2 million directly to the Soviet government. But Zverev will receive only between \$30,000 and \$40,000. As well, a multi-million-dollar agreement to bring Soviet soccer to the West was reached last month, and at least three top Soviet hockey stars hope to join the National Hockey League this fall. All, Soviet authorities have made make-or-buy agreements in 1985 and 1986 in the athlete trade. But the Soviet finance ministry ruled earlier this year that soccer players for foreign clubs could make no more than a Soviet treasury administration officer—and not less than an ordinary police sergeant. The heavy taxes, some athletes and artists will be coming in the West because of glasnost and the pressing need for cash groups in Goskomport to finance their operations out of their own hard-currency earnings. And that pressure could make it easier for athletes to leave their foreign contracts. But at the same time, that pressure has put the Western sports industry in a difficult position. The Soviet Ice Hockey Federation has stated that a sell-off of its players not papers if they are not allowed the freedom to negotiate. As a result, the NHL, in turn, had to compromise to its terms that they negotiate with the federation even though it denied the players the right to all their earnings. But with the drive to earn more hard currency, under Gorbachev's economic policies, it may not be long until the demands of Soviet athletes and artists are met. To ignore them could destroy their desire to compete or sell their products abroad—and could end the Soviet government's reliance on athletes and entertainers the Soviet's hard-core economic reforms.



DIANNE RYZHENKO is Moscow

Business Notes

FISH PLANTS MAY CLOSE

Fishery Products International Ltd. may have to close its plant in Burlington, Ontario, Canada, because of a new Canadian law. The law, which came into effect last month, requires that all fish processing companies have already or plan to produce at least 100 tons of fish in the year because of sharp cuts in the quantities of fish it is allowed to catch.

OPEN FOR BUSINESS

Investment Canada has not recommended a single foreign investor of a Canadian company in the last year since its creation. Agency president Paul Lippel told a group of Canadian businessmen that the watchdog agency has received 651 take-over applications and that, while some were withdrawn as a result of its objections, none were refused.

DREXEL WINS LISTING

The Canadian subsidiary of New York City-based investment company Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. has become a member of the Toronto Stock Exchange. Exchange officials delayed the firm's membership because of Drexel's past trading charges in the United States. Earlier this year, Drexel agreed to pay a \$700-million fine to settle the charges.

BILL PAYS OFF

The Supreme Court of Canada has ordered Bell Canada to pay \$263 million to its more than 100,000 subscribers. The court upheld a Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission ruling that Bell had overcharged its customers.

SUPERCOMPUTER DEVELOPED

A small Edmonton-based computer manufacturing company has built the first supercomputer ever made by a Canadian company. Hibern Research Corp. has already sold one of its computers to the U.S. defense department for \$1.6 million.

SUN BUYS NEWSPAPERS

Toronto's Sun Publishing Corp. reported that it has acquired nine newspapers in a year-long process to purchase some controlled circulation Florida newspapers for \$17.4 million from Westcoast Florida Inc.

BALLARD GOES CONTROL

To ensure corporate control, Harold Ballard moved his control of Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens by buying 24 per cent of the ownership shares of Harold B. Ballard Ltd. from his son Harold Jr. for an estimated \$21 million. The purchase gave Ballard 82.22 per cent of the company, which controls all 28 per cent of Maple Leaf Gardens stock.

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PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

The dreams and ideals of Canadians and Americans

It is a remarkable friendship, rarely faunted but forged by powerful currents of history and geography. Not since 1814 have Canada and the United States fought each other in war; their common border has become a fence between neighbors rather than a hostile dividing line. And on Jan. 1, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and then-President Ronald Reagan signed a precedent-setting agreement that created the largest trading partnership in history.

The two are partners best symbolized by the Peace Arch straddling the border at Blaine, Wash., and Doug-

las, B.C. John Kennedy once said: "History has made us friends. Economics has made us partners. And necessity has made us allies." But as Pierre Trudeau reminded a U.S. audi-

ence: "Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant: no matter how friendly and even-tempered the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt."

Now, with the signing of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, that relationship may become even closer as other business deals fill a continent with their different dreams approach the 21st century.



ESSAY

BOLD AND CAUTIOUS

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

We affectionally call it the 49th parallel. Yet the boundary that divides Canada from the United States runs along that off-kilter latitude only from the Ontario-Manitoba border to White Rock in British Columbia. The more populated parts of Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands on the Pacific side, the most heavily urbanized areas of Ontario and Quebec (including Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal), plus much of the Maritime region lie well south of that symbolic dividing line. The border, punctuated by about 120 crossing stations, has no real topographical, ethnic or economic justification. Still, that boundary is the most important fact about this country. It defines not only our citizenship but how we behave collectively and what we think individually. It determines who we are.

That isn't true of Americans, who seldom contemplate their northern boundary. To them, it is a barely relevant scar on high-school maps, an arbitrary and unimposing point of demarcation in the squarish of the lower latitudes. That is why Americans treat Canada like the set of their national museum, taking the unexcused guests above them for granted, unless one is a white Canadian who too much needs to be ignored. Yet throughout the centuries at the two corners meet this common link, and what has happened can best be assessed by the movement of people, goods and ideas across the border.

The curious fate of Tas-tanka (Teton) illustrates the differences between the surprisingly diverse societies that straddle that boundary. Better known as Sitting Bull, the great Sioux warrior had valuably prevented the U.S. cavalry from capturing lands previously granted to his people by the government in Washington, when they proved valuable to new settlers. On June 28, 1874, his warriors were out on a hunting trip of 540 mounted warriors led by Lt.-Col. George Custer (the hero did make good) in the valley of Montana's Little Big Horn River. Trapped in "the most dangerous men in North America," Sitting Bull and 5,000 of his supporters crossed the border at Wood Mountain into what is now southwestern Saskatchewan.

They were met by Imp James Morris

DIFFERENT BEGINNINGS AND VALUES HAVE PRODUCED TWO NATIONS OF SURPRISING DIVERSITY

Wish of the North-West Mounted Police, who rode alone into their wire camp, winning his respectful warrior point to stress the contrast with the dark-blue traces of the century. He sharply explained that the Indians could stay only if they obeyed Canadian laws. "They had been told by their grandfather that they would find peace in the land of the British," Walsh rejoined to Ottawa. "They had not slept sound to years and were anxious to find a place where they could live safe." Sitting Bull responded on the Canadian side of the border for a period half-decade, returning to North Dakota in 1881, where he again placed himself in jeopardy and was granted amnesty a few years later.

Many similar incidents exist at how two very different societies can end up in separate sides of the border. The Americans really did have a Wild West, with actual duels, professional gunfighters, crooked sheriffs, vicious posers, menacing vigilantes and legions killed for target practice. ("Snapping soldiers to watch 'em snap" was an American aviatorism man's description of the sport.)

While we certainly exploited the Indians, that land of shaggy conservatism had few parallels in

Canada. Our frontier was first explored in the early 1800s by the professional fur traders of the Hudson's Bay and West Coast companies, whose slogan was "never short your customers." They treated the Indians more as a free labor force. The settlers killed the forest animals, skinned them and beamed to their ports. They worked from suppliers to customers; they traded for axes, guns and blankets. The Americans had 60 Indian wars, the last skirmish in 1890, we did not have any, though we brought the aborigines such white-man's gifts as scalpings, apples and, worst of all, liquor.

The Canadian frontier was settled while the Canadian Pacific Railway was being built—looking up Central Canada with British Columbia in 1886—and that rapid enterprise was immediately followed by the influx of the most quaternary of Canadian institutions, the book branch. The process was paced every half step of the way by the Missions, who not only up-held the law but confiscated the argon before anybody had much of a chance to use it. By the time most of the

settlers arrived, they found themselves in a half-office corporate environment that dominated defenses to well-entrenched authority.

The Americans had to fight for their independence (1775-1783); then wage a civil war to reinvigorate their society (1861-1865), we won our freedom in 1867 after dispatching an alcoholic grime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, to begin with British diplomats who wanted to rid themselves of the burden of administering a troublesome colony. These diverse beginnings still color our nationalities. Our aggressive and relatively orderly past endowed most Canadians with such a passive sense of patriotism that collective survival rather than individual excellence became our ideal. We grew up with, and still practice, such sensible virtues as the notion that there is nothing more satisfying than a hard day's work will do, that it is always best to be close with one's money and emotions, and that even failures of pleasure and moments of splendor must appear to look accidental and barely noticed.

While our founding document, the British North America Act, simply projects our highest aim as the unified hope of preserving "peace, order and good government," America's revolutionary spirit proudly celebrates in a Declaration of Independence that proclaims the new nation's goals as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." With no standard to dispute to argue as but only the neutral imperative of survival, we hold it together, pleased and coldly consoled by our

freedom from, rather than lying up to suppress any freedom to.

What sets us apart from Americans is that there is no process of becoming Canadian that amounts to an identifiable conversion. It just seems to happen indelicately and is best recognized in hindsight. There is no Canadian way of life and little pressure for conformity. The miracle of it is that anyone, be they originally French, English, Scottish, Ukrainian, Italian, German, Irish, Tamil or even a Newfie, can become Canadian without ever coming to be themselves. That's very different from the United States, where the highly marketable American Dream continues to circumscribe its true believers and bedevil its malcontents.

Unlike Americans, Americans are obsessed with their self-imposed burden of saving the world for democracy. And Canada has always generated a natural anger for the champions of America's endless destiny. They arrived on five fronts (1775, 1779, 1812, 1866 and 1870), including some halfhearted efforts by division Irish soldiers who felt that Canada belonged to them in a more genuine position, the War of 1812. Americans offered to free us from the polar of the British colonialist, but we bravely fought to repel the would-be liberators, strenuously preferring to remain colonial British soldiers fighting on behalf of the colony even over the down the White House.

What the Americans have always wanted is to control our resources and the profitable parts of our economy, without the trouble and expense of colonial administration. They are in the process of achieving

just that, indirectly, through the recently signed Free Trade Agreement, the last of several attempts on both sides of the border to unite the two economies. The main reason Canadians must now tread carefully is not because the American economy is so much richer and bigger than ours, but because it operates on a different ethic, born out of our separate histories. "Americans like to make money, Canadians like to make it," wrote the literary critic Northrup Frye.

Even though our businessmen make bold and brash pronouncements in support of free enterprise, they don't really practice it. At the first sign of trouble, they rush to Ottawa begging for government benefits, which last year totaled \$38 billion. American business is much more aggressive and ready to take risks. The interesting segment of the U.S. economy last year, for example, was the telecommunications space.

In the final analysis, it is only by preserving our differences that the two distinct societies will continue to share the northern half of this continent. Canada may be a loose federation of wildly diverse regions so the margins of the civilized world. But there is a power of common interest that holds us together in a conviction that we want to remain Canadian and that we matter less important it is or may become, we do not want to be Americans. The 49th parallel must endure. As Kenneth Boulding, the internationalist who knows British economic thinking, once quipped: "Canada has no cultural unity, no linguistic unity, no religious unity, no economic unity, no geographic unity. All it has is unity."



ESSAY

FIELDS OF FORCE

**CANADA AND THE
UNITED STATES
SHARE A CONTINENT,
A HISTORY AND
A LANGUAGE, BUT
NOT A DREAM**

BY MARCI McDONALD

On the Old West Trail, border towns in North Dakota Highway 3, signs of good neighborhood punctuated the graffiti with periodic reassurance. In the town of Rugby, where a 20-foot fieldstone clock in a gas station parking lot marks the geographical center of North America, the Canadian Maple Leaf flag floated beside the American Stars and Stripes in the summer wind, offering a wordless reminder that the continent is in fact amably shared. Only 79 km north, past the Canadian-American Bar and the two-story-high bottle of Canadian Club outside a duty-free liquor shop, that study took more substantial form. There, on 2,280 acres of Manitoba and North Dakota woodland set aside in the International Peace Garden, the world's longest undeveloped border stood across the saddle of a gentleman bed just as it does across the continent itself—normally unmarked and unbordered. In fact, so unobtrusively did Willard Rolen, a retired U.S. railway worker from nearby Lake Metigoshe, N.D., cross it in his camper that he scoffed at the notion of national distinctions. "There's not a dime's bit of difference," he said. "Think, I go down every winter to Texas, and once you get south of San Antonio, that's where you find you're in a foreign country."

Still, even in that continental heartland that Canadians call the Prairie and Americans glorify as the Great Plains, signs were not deceiving. On either side of the point where state Highway 3 tugged onto provincial Highway 16, the landscape rolled out in the horizon, flat and limitless. North of the 49th parallel, the vista was differentiated only by lushly rich, orderly Manitoba corn crops announcing the approach of a fresh hot and moisture-soaked, but only a few kilometers south of the border, North Dakota's fields of hard winter durum wheat were streaked with eight-foot furrows enclosing a more modest crop the size of 150 Minnesota 38-manual corn harvests (5,000 square miles of soil around Mount Air Force Base).

Armed with three atomic warheads each and backed up by a squadron of B-52 bombers, the extranational ballistic missiles (SSBs) bunker beneath their concrete lids on 34-hour shifts, targeted on the Soviet Union where a battery of 10-12s is aimed back at them. In between, like some unwitting buffer zone, lies a nation that played out its last nuclear warhead in July, 1964, and periodically breaks out in what a Pentagon official

once scathingly termed "the nuclear allergy."

To elaborate, possibly, the basic tension the public every August in "Northern Nightmares Day." But for some neighbors, such as Winnipeg university student Chantelle Desjardins, the hospitality cannot disguise a lingering dread. "You realize all they have to do is push a button and it's the end of the world," she said. "That's why Canadians are so fearful of Americans; they're so powerful."

In fact, as Canadians attempt to redefine their approach to resolve their century-old trade continental cooperation under a historic new Free Trade Agreement, that steel field is a significant metaphor for the differences in the relationship traditionally held as special—in the diplomatic sense—but never equal. No two nations have found their fate so extensively intertwined by geographic, economic and strategic necessity, as two peoples are more profoundly linked by cultural and emotional ties. But even \$106.4 billion in goods and services exchanged last year in the world's largest trading partnership cannot obscure another reality, on one side of the border is an assimilative middle power occupying 45.6 per cent of the continent with one-sixth of the population, in the other an economic and military superpower with a momentum of destiny, capable of global annihilation.

That integrity has led non-always Margaret Atwood to note that the world's longest undeveloped border is an enigma. In fact, says the Toronto author, what separates Canada and the United States is the world's longest one-way mirror. While Canadians gaze south, often disbelieving at both their location with, and fears of, the American colossus, they frequently find it difficult to even know U.S. attitudes. As Chicago scholar Al Capone once summed up his countryman's lack of interest, "I don't even know what street Canada is on."

One of the best reflections of the imbalance in the relationship by which External Affairs officials have long characterized Washington's attitude to Ottawa began in 1941. And even now, the two countries' diplomatic interactions present a telling measure of the significance each accords the other. From a postwar staff of two, the department's U.S. division has grown to an entire branch with staff of 126, at the state department, five officers leader a

deputy assistant secretary man the Canada desk, tucked into the portfolio of an assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian Affairs. The few three words of that title were added only in 1983 after Ottawa pointed out that it was not in Europe.

No American president could ever know—and here on his head—the observation was offered by Prime Minister Lester Pearson

his friend Wilson Lyon Macdonald King, of a president visit Ottawa.

But their unlikely chemistry proved to be an exception. Canadian leaders were here often, hand themselves to the hands of the hands of indifference from the south. After a meeting with President Dwight Eisenhower—who had previously twice referred to "the great Republic of Canada"—Pearson left, surprised that his U.S. counterpart lacked any awareness of Canadian issues. Said the Prime Minister of a matter that had been under discussion: "You'd think he really would have mentioned it to his secretary."

John F. Kennedy magnanimously told John Diefenbaker's name. And his national security adviser, McGeorge Bundy, took credit for detaching the Conservatives leader in the 1962 elections after contradicting his assertions on defense. As Bundy later wrote to President Lyndon Johnson: "I myself have been sensitive to the need for being extra polite to Canadians ever since George Ball and I landed over the Diefenbaker government by one incalculable penny release."

Johnson mentioned the recurring Canadian concern that the muscular next-door neighbor might suddenly turn into a bully. A day after Pearson had criticized the U.S. bombing of Hanoi in a Philadelphia speech, the President was hating as he exterminated the Prime Minister at Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland. Always ending, the silence that had chilled their hands, he led Pearson onto the porch, behind the door at the dusk cold, at the climax of an hour-long handshake, looking. "You passed on my rug."

As James Houston, former columnist for The New York Times, noted in 1971: "In its relations with the United States these days, Canada feels a bit like a woman being in a affair with the big, bad man next door. It depends on how and how he's good provider, but he has a strong eye and a lot of other affairs elsewhere." Although the metaphor has proven to be a durable one, that year Nixon had slapped a 10-per-cent across-the-board surcharge on all U.S. imports, devastating Canadian industries and bringing about a change in some other affairs. His action led then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to say that Canadians should never again become as dependent on one market—particularly one presided over by a nation such as Nixon, who called



Rush and Mulroney: the most sensitive President since Roosevelt

AP/WIDEWORLD

THE RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN CALLED SPECIAL, BUT NEVER EQUAL

has an "isolate" and mutually referred to Japan as America's largest trading partner.

But Trudeau's attempts to gain greater access to Europe and Asia as part of a so-called Third Option never succeeded in replacing "the big, red map next door." And his subsequent efforts to "promote domestic resources with a National Energy Program and a Foreign Investment Review Agency overshadowed a year of regulatory tangle and costly releases. In fact, it is hardly surprising that the president who made a free trade agreement with Canada one of his administration's chief economic priorities was a man whose first market credo Trudeau had most opposed—Ronald Reagan.

When the newly elected Republicans arrived in Ottawa for his first encounter with Trudeau in March, 1981, he met the strong reception of any president in history. On Parliament Hill, demonstrators joined his campaign committee that still ran as a crowd by trees. But Trudeau, evidently embarrassed over the capriciousness program, quickly found his sympathy given to the devoted the active president's contribution to a discussion of the Middle East was to tell us Israeli joke.

Within three years, Reagan's administration of free political affairs, Lawrence Eagleburger, had returned the decision. He dismissed Trudeau's 1982 peace initiative to promote Soviet-American relations after the U.S.S.R.'s showing down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 as "not to get involved behavior by a hostile judge." But Ronald Reagan's decisive capture of 38 States Drive a year later brought a belated resolution to members of the Reagan White House: the political course north of the border was neither the left than it was the United States. They were clearly taken aback to discover that even a Conservative prime minister—not to mention one who could so easily swap trade talks with Reagan—held across the country as universal health insurance and regional subsidies that some Democrats considered to be radically liberal or socialist.

That amicable was quickly compounded by shock when last year's free trade debate unleashed a torrent of individualism that caught state department officials off guard. As Ronald Reagan, then assistant secretary of state, European and Canadian affairs, acknowledged him, "There was surprise at the extent to which there was a rather passionate feeling about the relationship." To many Canadians, the surprise was that the U.S. administration had not seen the Canadian gathering

force. It was as if Washington had ignored the 1985 hour when the U.S. Coast Guard's Polar Sea bulldozed its way through the ice of the Northwest Passage—Canada's last remaining attempt of Arctic sovereignty.

During the latter free trade debate, perhaps nothing illustrated the two countries' contrasting preoccupations better than the fact that in Canada, U.S. negotiator Peter Murphy's name became a household word. Meanwhile, in the

where the Common Question Period still regularly erupts with outrage over plant closings and the country's plummeting merchandise trade surplus with the United States, a new phase of the debate appears to have only begun.

To Americans, that reaction is baffling, marking of anti-Americanism. As Carl Flagstad of the *Montreal Daily News* pointed out, that sentiment can surface even in a region where the north-south trade in both countries have always outstripped those with each other and where people don't want to keep their radio dial tuned to the CBC. For example, North Dakotans were baffled by the wilderness of Manitoba's significance to the Canadian Diversion project—a \$1.5-billion irrigation scheme



A border marker between Alberta and Montana: moose-crossing and fresh fish signs

U.S. capital—a breeding ground for bureaucratic stardom—he remained just another anonymous trade negotiator. To those Americans who noticed, the free trade proposal was primarily a technical tool that would serve as both a threat and stick to provide the rest of the globe with a new round of trade talks. Many never could understand that in Canada it had become the most fundamental decision on national identity that the country would likely make for the remainder of the century—an issue, as such critics in writer Robertson Brown saw it, of whether the government was "signing away Canada's soul."

New, with the agreement signed, a newly elected George Bush has opened the way to reuniting the last theme in the site of the bilateral relationship by extending legislation aimed at reducing and raising. But even with a president who appears to be the most sensitive to Canadian concerns since Franklin Roosevelt, America's metaphor of a one-way looking glass seems apt. In Washington, the subject of free trade with Canada is closed. But in Ottawa,

for the state—which was finally settled in 1985, 20 years after it was approved by Congress. The province charged that by diverting Missouri River waters over the continental divide, it would force Canadian rivers with American pollution, parasites and overfished rough fish, which would destroy the more possible Canadian species. Said Flagstad: "They visualized all sorts of bad things coming in. Up till then, North Dakotans had always considered Canada just a place like any other except they possessed certain world of silk."

Those differing reactions can be traced back to the country's roots. In fact, as former Trudeau aide Thomas Anwarthy has noted, Canada was in a sense born anti-American—defining itself by its contrasting refusal of the American Dream. While the United States fought its way to liberty, Canada evolved to nationhood by declaring that nations to revolution. Throwing off the yoke of European tyranny, the first Americans showed a distrust of the government, and their own. They

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A Better Way



Assembling an air missile on the Great Plains. Elysees & Goud once said, "Take Canada—and wipe out her commerce"

spelled out in their constitution the right to bear arms, a clause that has led to an almost universal ban of gun control—and a markedly higher homicide rate. Canadians contend under the British wing the steady another century—and faced with the challenge of a more hostile northern climate—came to great consensus and survival.

Caught between the United Kingdom and the United States, Canada slipped into the role of global policeman. And its military powers were more trust in multilateral mechanisms such as the United Nations than do most independent

yet another offspring of nuclear weapons, the rail-based SS-20 "Pioneer" missile.

As French writer André Malraux has noted, "The mind supplies the idea of a nation, but what gives that idea its sentimental force is a community of destiny." And perhaps no nation has dreamed leader—or is more glorious technician—than the one that appropriated the name of a continent for itself. Using the magnificent story line of a last revolt by 13 disparate and disunited colonies, the U.S. founding fathers wrote a script celebrating their exploits as an experiment in national destiny. Since then, it has held generations in thrall, from the rising French bourgeoisie, Alexis de Tocqueville—who saw the promise of American democracy in 1835—to the Chinese scholars who cited a historical tribute to the Statue of Liberty in Tiananmen Square during this last heart-breaking Beijing spring.

The creation of heroes and symbols was a conscious effort at myth-making by a country which, through Hollywood, would have not dreamed for the world. But north of the border, where Canadians would be hard pressed to locate a statue that symbolized their aspirations, a national mythology has never emerged. Canada

did not even have its own flag until 1965 nor control of its own Constitution until seven years ago. And Canadians cast a wary eye on some of the triumphs and recent expressions of patriotism by their overzealous neighbors, eager to export the American way but one of the many paradoxes underlying the complex bilateral relationship is that, in comparison of water barrel states, Canadians more readily perceive the democratic ideals that Americans constantly preach.

In John Irving's new novel, *A Prayer for Owen Meany*, a Toronto minister declares, "It's very American to have opinions so strong in your opinions, it's very Canadian to distrust strong opinions." But the free trade debate showed that Canadians—who have so long thought themselves incapable of embracing a national identity—could summon some very strong opinions when they feared that their government might surrender a measure of sovereignty to their neighbor. Now, as they face the challenge of linking their fate more closely with the United States in a future yet to be charted, strong opinions may be all the more necessary to safeguard the national differences that for more than a century have provided an available refuge for uncalculated collaboration.

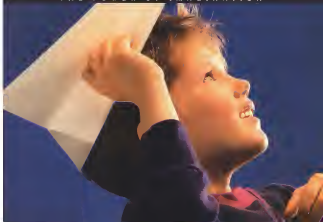
As Canadian leaders have often pointed out, those differences ought not to be mistaken for anti-Americanism. Indeed, it was Lester Pearson who noted that sharing a continent with the United States could only be compared to "living with your wife." André Perron: "At times it is difficult to live with her. At all times it is impossible to live without her."



Photo by Alan Tanaka

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CANADA

THE POWER OF IMAGINATION



SEPARATE IDENTITIES

We are different, but not always in the ways we thought. Americans, it turns out, are greater proponents of the social norms that we self-proclaimed multi-racial Canadians. And despite our vaunted attachment to public enterprise and state subsidies, it is Americans who most often their government most explicitly. These differences, occurring near traditional disagreements about what sets Canada and the United States apart, emerged from the most wide-ranging survey of American and Canadian attitudes ever conducted—completed recently for Maclean's by Toronto's Decima Research. As Decima chairman, Allan Gregg observed, "The survey we have conducted does not reflect the lens we are living."

A revealing and intriguing profile of two national characters emerged from the poll. The survey upheld at least one long-standing stereotype: Americans overwhelmingly unaware of events in Canada or even of the growing role

A POLL REVEALS SOME STRIKING DIFFERENCES—AND SIMILARITIES—BETWEEN TWO NEIGHBORS

that Canada plays in U.S. affairs. Canadians, meanwhile, were often highly negative about the American personality. "Obsessive, pig-headed state," accused as the most frequently expressed Canadian sentiments. In general, Americans took a far kinder view of Canadians. A majority (66 per cent) even said that they would welcome Canada as the 51st state. Eighty-five per cent of Canadians, however, opposed joining the union, one of the clearest objections of such a proposal since polling began in Canada.

But in some startling and not always flattering ways, Canadians and Americans are very much alike. Admitted drug use, for one thing, is almost as common in Canada as in the United States (11 to 13 per cent). And despite Canadians' belief in their country's more personal temperament, nearly as many of them reported encountering racism since they did Americans (53 per cent compared with 36). But fewer Canadians expressed open racism and more of them displayed concern for the economically disadvantaged.

The survey, which polled 1,000 people in each country earlier this year and produced results considered accurate to within 3.5 per cent per point (19 times out of 20, contained an increasing determination by Canadians to preserve their independence from their superpower neighbor. In fact, despite the concerns of some nationalists, the Free Trade Agreement, which went into effect on Jan. 1, appears only to have strengthened that sentiment. In 1993, in one of its first surveys on the subject, a

Gallup poll discovered that 97 per cent of Canadians were willing to become part of the United States the day was decided over whether to seek full independence or remain a dominion within the British Empire. By 2004, a Maclean's poll found that the number of would-be Americans had risen to 69 per cent of Canadians, and a further nine per cent were unsure whether they wanted the country to become a U.S. state.

Since then, Canadians have played against a stronger taste for independence in the current survey. 80 per cent opposed or strongly opposed "Canada becoming the 51st state of the United States with full congressional representation and rights of American citizenship." 34 per cent favored it, and only one Canadian is a declared supporter to oppose. One province that stood out significantly was Quebec: respondents were much more likely than other Canadians to favor separatism into the United States (23 per cent said yes, followed by Newfoundlanders at 17 per cent).

But while they rejected political union, Canadians were more willing to consider other kinds of ties. Indeed, 48 per cent agreed with the idea of sharing a common currency with the United States (compared with 74 per cent of Americans). And 59 per cent of Canadians supported a proposal to adopt "common and identical policy on all matters relating to defense and foreign affairs" (with 79 per cent of Americans in agreement). Said Gregg, "Canadians don't

Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose Canada and the United States adopting a common currency?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
STRONGLY OPPOSE	21%	4%
OPPOSE	28%	19%
FAVOR	40%	62%
STRONGLY FAVOR	9%	12%



Would you like to send your children to the other country to attend university or college?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
YES	41%	58%
NO	58%	39%



In times of crisis, do you believe government should or should not have the power to declare a national emergency and remove civil rights?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
SHOULD	48%	41%
SHOULD NOT	49%	56%



Have you ever been robbed or assaulted?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
YES	21%	26%
NO	79%	74%



What do you think is better for Canada/the United States: that new immigrants be encouraged to maintain their distinct culture and ways, or to change them to blend with the larger society?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
MAINTAIN	34%	47%
CHANGE	61%	51%



Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose Canada becoming the 51st state of the United States with full congressional representation and rights of American citizenship?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
STRONGLY OPPOSE	54%	10%
OPPOSE	31%	22%
FAVOR	12%	54%
STRONGLY FAVOR	2%	12%

'THE IMAGE WE HAVE OF OURSELVES DOES NOT REFLECT OUR LIVES'

used to be warm and friendly to the Americans. They want to have good commercial relations."

Quebeckers again stood out—60 per cent supported a common Canadian passport, while 50 per cent agreed with the proposal to share defense and foreign policies. New York City-based American sociologist Martin Lipset, author of several studies of the two nations' differences, said that these results bore out a long-standing view of Quebecers as "Fratricide-queuing Canadians." He added: "Fratricide-queuing Canadians are not worried about the United States. They think they can hold their own."

There was certainly a marked contrast in how Canadians and Americans felt about each other. Asked to describe the other country as one word, the largest number (31 per cent) of Canadians said "noahs," with 90 per cent of the Americans and 90 per cent of the Canadians saying "noahs."

There was certainly a marked contrast in how Canadians and Americans felt about each other. Asked to describe the other country as one word, the largest number (31 per cent) of Canadians said "noahs," with 90 per cent of the Americans and 90 per cent of the Canadians saying "noahs."

For many Americans, it was Canada's "stability" to themselves that earned praise. Said one: "I think they are great people, no different than we are." Others described Canadians as "friendly" and "nice." "I've never suddenly what they 'kind' about Canada," however, Americans did find qualities to criticize. "I don't like the way Canadians talk," remarked one. "They are always saying, 'I'm real'—well, I can't stand the way they say 'I'm real'." A third, more perceptively, complained about Canadians' "preoccupation with their independence from the United States." Lipset said that for Americans, "if you don't like Canadians, that is almost like not liking Americans."

For their part, Canadians, asked to describe what they "don't like about Americans," had no trouble naming as abundance of undesirable traits. "They are self-centered," one Canadian observed, adding, "They don't try to understand what is going on beyond their borders."

Said another: "They are brought up to believe solely duty in the world matters." Many also mentioned American aggressiveness, patriotism and nationalism.

Indeed, only one quality drew as many compliments in Canada as in the United States. That was personal selfishness. Decima's associates asked money in each country to rate the other's men, men were asked to rate women from the other country on the same 1-to-10 scale

from least to most attractive. On average, Americans were rated 6.2 by Canadians, not Americans (who rated a 6.5 to Canadians).

But in a further reflection of Canadians' views, 73 per cent told Decima's researchers that they would not like to live in the United States. 58 per cent would not want to send their children to study there. By contrast, only 56 per cent of Americans ruled out living in Canada, and even fewer—38 per



Would you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose Canada and the United States adopting common and identical policy on all matters relating to defense and foreign affairs?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
STRONGLY OPPOSE	24%	4%
OPPOSE	36%	19%
SUPPORT	33%	58%
STRONGLY SUPPORT	6%	15%

Source: Decima

cent—said that they would not want to send a child to study in Canada. One American who has studied in Canada, however, 52-year-old history major Martin Perle, responded that many Americans might reconsider living in Canada if they were more aware of what he called Canadian "latent anti-Americanism." Perle, a native of Erie, Pa., who attended Marquette University on an exchange program last spring, said, "At times it is quite uncomfortable."

Canadian policy-makers may find more uncomfortable a series of questions that focused on attitudes to ethnic minorities and immigrants. Overturning a popularly held stereotype about Canadians (91 per cent) that Americans (53 per cent) said that immigrants should change their culture to "blend with the larger society." The findings appear to signal a previously undetected reversal in Canadian opinion over the past decade. In a survey conducted by

the federal government in 1978, 75 per cent of Canadians supported Ottawa's registered policy of encouraging immigrants to preserve cultural traditions.

At the same time, the poll produced evidence that open racism is more widespread in the United States than in Canada. Eighty per cent of Americans said that they had been the "victim of racial or ethnic discrimination," compared with 15 per cent of Canadians who made the same claim. Asked whether they would be "happy, indifferent or unhappy" if one of their children married someone of another race, more than twice as many Americans in Canada said that they would be happy (53 per cent) compared with 10. The findings, however, offer Canadians little room for complacency. In some parts of the country and among some groups, reported racism exceeded the American average. Twenty-four per cent of Torontonians and 53 per cent of Asian Canadians said that they had been victims of racial or ethnic discrimination.

Other findings attacked the comfortable Canadian belief that their country is a safer place to live. In fact, while more Americans than Canadians reported having been "robbed or assaulted," the difference was slight: 36 per cent compared with 31 per cent. Fear of sexual violence is also widespread in both countries: 34 per cent of Americans and 24 per cent of Canadians said that they were "afraid to walk alone on the streets" of their communities at night. Meanwhile, illegal drug use, often a catalyst to crime, appears to be in common among Canadian men as it is among American men. Eighteen per cent of male Canadians admitted using "hard drugs," compared with 17 per cent of American males. Among Canadian women, however, drug taking is still about half as frequent as among Americans (but per cent compared with 10 per cent).

One personal difference did emerge that clearly affected the quality of life in the two countries: the extent of the American life after work. Americans' attitudes to share the "leisure" consensus. Nearly one-quarter of Americans (24 per cent) said that they owned a television, compared with only three per cent of Canadians. This response bears no relation to that show much greater gun and rifle ownership in general in the United States. Americans own some 200 million firearms, while Canadians possess 982,125 registered restricted weapons. Because of the similarity in drug use and experiences of sexual, but single difference may go far to explain the vastly higher American murder rate of 8.3 per 100,000 people, compared with Canada's rate of 2.8 per 100,000.

Despite the evidence that they face broadly similar risks, however, Canadians have yet to place drugs or crime as high on the agenda of pressing public issues as Americans do. Asked to name "the most important problem" facing the country, more Americans named drugs than any other issue. "Drugs," said one, "are developing our children." Crime, linked to drug use in many of the answers, was ranked 11th. In contrast, Cana-

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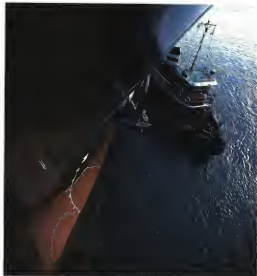
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these related crime in 20th place, just ahead of the aging population, and did not mention drugs at all. Observed Grogg: "Either the media or the politicians in America have done more to focus violence."

In Canada, the focus was on the environment. Seventeen per cent of respondents named pollution as the country's biggest problem, followed closely by unemployment (16 per cent), the Free Trade Agreement (16 per cent) and the deficit (nine per cent). "At home, I believe we have a right to clean air and water," responded one Canadian, adding, "The government is not doing enough." But despite that strongly held belief, when asked if they would favor shifting down a major employer if its plant was polluting the environment, a significant minority (37 per cent) said no. The verdict among Americans: 33 per cent opposed or slowing the polluter to remain in business.

Next to drugs, Americans cited the national deficit—\$185.9 billion, or 3.9 per cent of the gross national product, compared with Canada's at \$26.9 billion, or 4.7 per cent of the GNP—as the country's most pressing problem. The FTA did not place on their list of national problems. Instead, that place went to a range of moral issues from abortion to pornography. Pollsters noted life and unemployment tied with crime at 11th.

Both groups of citizens expect and even demand government action on environmental issues. But Ottawa and Washington expressed very different degrees of public confidence and their room for political maneuvering. A fairly widely Pew Canadian (non-Americans) (38 per cent compared with 60 per cent) reported that they trusted government "to act in the public interest all of the time" or "most of the time," in suits that mirrored the expectations of many sociologists. At the same time, Canadians seem less willing to see "taxes increased significantly or services cut in order to reduce" the deficit. Canadians were evenly divided on the issue (44 per cent accepted tax increases and service cuts, while 46 per cent said no). But a clear majority of Americans (54 to 44 per cent) agreed to them. "Americans are a lot more aware of the deficit as a political issue," commented Grogg. Moreover, he said, "in deficit relief, too, George Bush has far less pressure than Ross Mulvoney."

The pressure on Mulvoney results largely from Canada voters' strikingly greater attachment to publicly funded social programs. In power, for more Canadians than Americans, said Decima's researchers that they regarded such services as universal entitlement and a guaranteed minimum income as "absolute right" rather than rights that should be limited. Canadians expressed decidedly greater support than Americans for socialism (73 per cent compared with 52 per cent). For a guaranteed minimum income (\$2 and 52 per cent, respectively). The findings, said Clerk Cohen, director of the Centre for Canadian Studies at Duke University in Durham, N.C., reinforced his view that "Canadians

are more humane in a fashion that we are not in the United States."

Still, the responses were unexpectedly revealing. Support for child care, for instance, was roughly equal in Canada and the United States (54 per cent compared with 46 per cent). And 72 per cent of Americans supported the absolute right of a woman to have her job protected while she is on pregnancy leave, compared with 71 per cent of Canadians. Federal and provincial law already grants that right to most Canadian women, but it remains unavailable in much of the United States. Quebecers, meanwhile, were markedly more likely to support all social programs than the average Canadian. In the most striking example, support for the abor-



Would you describe Canadians and Americans as essentially the same, mainly the same but with some small differences, mainly different but with some small similarities, or essentially different?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
ESSENTIALLY THE SAME	13%	18%
MAINLY THE SAME	43%	60%
MAINLY DIFFERENT	24%	15%
ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT	19%	6%



late right to child care stood at 60 per cent in Quebec. In Ontario outside Toronto, by contrast, 38 per cent supported it. And the issue has a national twist. The Canadian Prime Minister could probably count on more support than the American President. Asked, "In times of crisis, do you believe government should or should not have the power to declare a national emergency and remove all civil rights?" 56 per cent of Americans said no. But Canadians were almost evenly divided: 49 per cent said no, while 46 per cent said yes. In Quebec, where members of the imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970 may have been a factor in its popularity, a slightly less per cent reported supernatural civil rights. Still, in most of Canada, Duke's Cohen observed, "there is a respect for law and order, democracy in our country borders on fanaticism." Is another nation does business cannot mean con-

dense than government. Americans, however, seem to be slightly ahead of Canadians (57 to 53 per cent) in trusting that business will generally not "in the public interest," although the public's 3-per-cent margin of error may make the difference negligible.

The poll also revealed one fact that Americans know little about: Canadians. Only 11 per cent of Americans correctly named Ross Mulvoney as the Prime Minister of Canada. By contrast, 35 per cent of Canadians correctly named the U.S. vice-president, Dan Quayle. The number of Americans who knew that Canada and the United States are each other's largest trading partners was scarcely higher at 13 per cent. Among Canadians, 83 per cent had that information. Fifty-six per cent of Americans knew more per cent of Canadians incorrectly identified Japan as their own country's largest trading partner. The FTA, however, appears to have permeated the U.S. consciousness more widely: 37 per cent of Americans were aware of the pact, the Canadian figure an overwhelming 97 per cent.

Americans appeared to assume that Canadians are little different from Americans. Seventy-eight per cent described the two countries as "mainly" or "essentially" the same. Only 37 per cent of Canadians agreed, a figure significantly lower than the 67 per cent who said in response to an earlier Newsweek/Decima poll conducted in November, 1987, that the two countries were either "not at all" or only "slightly" different. Sent Grogg: "Canadians know and reject the United States. They do not know, but reject, us."

But without doubt, the two countries have different values. And those become clearer when Decima's researchers asked people in each country to select the "ideal" quality of their own fellow citizens from a list that included some, aggressive, tolerant, clean, peaceful and independent-minded. For 38 per cent of Canadians, that quality was tolerance, followed by independent-mindedness (27 per cent) and peacefulness (24 per cent). Among Americans, 52 per cent said that they liked independent-mindedness as the leading ideal quality. Tolerance was second at 21 per cent, and aggressiveness and willingness to stand up for their rights tied quality with 13 per cent. Only three per cent of Canadians regarded aggressiveness as a virtue.

Clearly, the Free Trade Agreement has not Canada and the United States on a course that uniting the two countries closer together than ever before in their long history of sharing the North American continent. It is a course Americans seem willing to pursue as the political norm. But Canadians, the challenge will be to profit from close ties without abandoning the political independence they apparently prize.

CHRIS WOOD



Rowe: some Americans say that they have a constitutional right to own guns

SPECIAL REPORT

MACLEAN'S/DECIMA POLL

ARMS AND THE STATES

GUN CONTROL IS A SHARED CONCERN



On the grounds of the Friedrich Schlegel Association, about 35 km northwest of Vancouver, Larry Rowe looked warily at his Colt .45 semi-automatic pistol. With 2,400 members, the 100-year-old second-largest gun club in the United States, and nearly the only one that would remain with the day of shotgun fire from shoots-and-trapshooters. The morning, however, an unseasonably warm day, was the first of the firing season, which lay under several feet of snow due to flooding from the adjacent Fraser River. Rowe, a cooperative pistol shooter and president of the Oso Valley and Prolet Association, took the temporary relief in stride. But with firearms-related deaths increasing and gun-control groups calling for stricter laws, he talked about his concerns that the government would one day restrict his gun—permanently. “The right to own guns is one of the freedoms that this

country was founded on,” said Rowe, 66, a retired executive of a supermarket chain and father of five. “If you start whittling away at those freedoms, then you’re going to see an erosion of so many other things.”

Rowe is one of three million Americans—including President George Bush—who belong to the National Rifle Association (NRA), the largest U.S. pro-gun lobby. The right of citizens to own guns is based on the 1789-year-old Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which reads, “A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.” Pro-gun liberals say that the amendment prohibits government control over firearms, while gun-control advocates argue that it merely relates to the right of states to maintain militias. However, the current debate between pro- and anti-gun forces is not so much over who should be allowed to have firearms but what types of guns should be

regulated—or even banned. That debate was heightened in January when a decorated gunman in Colorado—wielding a Chicago-made version of an M-16 semi-automatic assault rifle—killed five schoolchildren and wounded 30 other people.

Unlike Canada, most Americans have easy access to firearms. An estimated 70 million Americans own 140 million rifles and 60 million handguns. Federal law does not require gun registration, and the only people excluded from ownership are convicted felons, known narcotics users, the mentally incompetent, and illegal aliens. Only

fully automatic weapons and sawed-off rifles and shotguns require a federal license. And currently only 35 states have a waiting period to acquire a gun. In May, however, California became the first state to ban semi-automatic assault rifles—a decision that several other states are now considering.

For the NRA, the issue is not gun control but criminals. In 1987, there were 17,400 homicides in the United States, 59 per cent involving firearms. Preliminary 1988 statistics show a three-per-cent rise in murders. Gun-control advocates cite such alarming numbers to win support for tighter restrictions, especially on handguns. But the NRA counters with its famous slogan: “Guns don’t kill people, people kill people.” Said Rowe: “Gun control does nothing but restrict law-abiding citizens.”

Earlier this year, Bush unveiled a \$1.8-billion (U.S.) anti-crime package to build more prisons, hire more law enforcement officers and enforce penalties for gun-related crimes. Rowe retorts, as a result of the outrage over the California tragedy, Bush also called for a ban on ammunition clips that hold more than 10 rounds. That proposal drew sharp criticism from the NRA, but Howe privately conceded, “I don’t know if any person who needs a large capacity magazine.”

Despite growing sentiment for more controls, America’s traditional attachment to guns shows few signs of waning. In fact, because of increasing crime, surveys show that more Americans than ever are buying handguns for self-protection. Rowe, who says that he owns “50 or 60” guns, says he loaded his handgun in his back drawer at home. But he acknowledges that “guns are not for everybody,” adding that he “would not be opposed” to mandatory, periodic testing of a gun owner’s ability to handle firearms. “When I get to the point where I’m too old and feeble, I shouldn’t have a gun,” said Rowe. However, referring to America’s mile-wide right to bear arms, he added, “The problem is, how are you going to get it away from me?”

ANDREW BEASLEY in Cleveland

It is a telling fact that, despite strict government controls on guns and gun owners in Canada, no federal or provincial officials contacted could estimate the number of privately held firearms in the country. Some experts speculate that the figures have never been compiled because there is a low public profile concern to possess it. At the same time, the 20,000-member Shooting Federation of Canada—the governing body for competitive shooting in the country and the closest thing to the powerful U.S. pro-gun lobby, the National Rifle Association—supports strict restrictions on firearms. But David Hinchley, the president of the federation as well as of the 8,500-member Ontario Shooting Association, “tells some people in the NRA who wrap themselves in the flag and don’t want to see any form of control, we can and do take a more moderate approach.” The 47-year-old history and shop teacher at suburban Toronto’s Mississauga Collegiate Institute added: “We understand that there need to be controls over certain types of firearms.”

There has been some form of handgun control in Canada for nearly 100 years. And in 1978, new federal legislation forced all potential gun owners to apply for a Firearms Acquisition Certificate—about 130,000 of which are issued by police each year. Those who are at least 16 and have no criminal record, history of mental disorder or drug or alcohol abuse can acquire rifles and shotguns with no test. But because the RAC certificate is valid for five years and allows multiple purchases, it does not provide as accurate a count of the number of guns in circulation. Canadians who are at least 16 and want to buy restricted firearms—including all handguns and most semi-automatic rifles—require an additional Firearms Registration Certificate from the RCMP—as well as permits to use, carry or transport the guns. In most cases, a buyer of a restricted firearm



Hinchley: no parallel to the American situation

must be a member of a provincially approved gun club and pass a firearms safety course. Automatic weapons and sawed-off rifles and shotguns are strictly prohibited.

Still, some gun-control advocates—concerned over accidents and the criminal misuse of firearms—say that even stricter restrictions of firearms—such as even stricter restrictions of handguns for use, carry or transport the guns. In most cases, a buyer of a restricted firearm

and that he has to keep the firearms in a locked container when he is taking them from his home to the firing range—by the most direct route. He also needs separate permits to train potential handlers with his gun or to bring firearms to any place other than a gun club. A permit violation is punishable by two years’ imprisonment.

Such controls may partially account for a lower rate of gun-related deaths in Canada than in the United States. According to a 1988 study, the risk of being killed by a gun is almost five times as high in Seattle, Wash.—where controls are negligible—as in Vancouver, 235 km north. Comparing homicide rates from 1964 through 1986 in the two cities—which were remarkably similar, demographically and geographically—Canadian and U.S. researchers reported 129 gun-related deaths in Seattle and 25 in Vancouver. They attributed the significant difference to tighter gun controls in Canada.

Still, some Canadians say they are alarmed that July 31 per cent of the 642 homicides in Canada in 1987 involved firearms—mostly rifles and shotguns. Darryl Downe, a criminologist with the Ottawa-based Canadian Criminal Justice Association, recently called for an almost total ban on privately owned guns. Downe says that he would exempt only hunters who can prove that their livelihood depends on their firearms to hunt. “It is too easy to turn back the clock in the United States,” said Downe, who pointed out that about 60 per cent of all U.S. households have at least one gun. But he added, “In Canada we still have some hope if we can take guns out of the hands of private citizens.”

Indeed, at a meeting in Chatham-Kent in June, provincial police officers—supported by the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police—recommended that Parliament amend the Criminal Code to prohibit the importation, sale and ownership of fully loaded magazines. These include the controversial M-16 semi-automatic rifle—which can be easily converted to allow long barrels with one operator of the trigger. As an advocate of responsible gun ownership, Hinchley says that such firearms should mainly be placed on the only gun store in the Motherland. As well, he didn’t have that meeting involvement of the American West? Hinchley’s restricted weapons permit specifies that he can use his guns only for target shooting.

ANDREW BEASLEY in Toronto



Do you own a handgun?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
YES	3%	24%
NO	97%	75%

Are you afraid to walk alone on the streets of your community at night?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
YES	24%	31%
NO	76%	69%

MACLEANS/DECIMA POLL

THE PAIN OF POVERTY

WELFARE CARRIES A STIGMA OF SHAME

A husband came early to Christine Roberts, a 31-year-old mother of two who lives in a rented, five-room row house in Halifax's gritty North End. One of seven children of an alcoholic dockyard worker, she job-hops as 14 for a job-pushing, cruddy in a local factory. At 16, she had her first child. She married at 21 and three years later, in 1983, with a second child to raise, she separated from her husband. It was then that Roberts, who had only a Grade 7 education, first sought public welfare. Without help from her eldest son, she was, she said, no other way she could provide for her young family.

Seven years later, Roberts is still reliant on public assistance. Despite repeated efforts to obtain and hold a job and to upgrade her education—the family acquired Grade 10 standing last year—Roberts is one of about 8,500 single mothers in Nova Scotia and about 250,000 in Canada who require welfare. But in a recent interview in her neat living room, she foregoes dominance by an anecdotal tale and instead portraits of her two children, Roberts says she has two uncles—one is to ensure that her daughter, Wanda, 16, and son, Shawn, 12, have the kind of stable upbringing that eluded her, the other is to get "a decent-paying job and get off welfare for good."

The policy set that Canadian provinces agreed on for those in need is water that has frozen in most U.S. jurisdictions. In fact, a Maclean's/Decima poll found that, in general, slightly fewer Americans than Canadians believed that social programs are an "absolute right." But life in welfare in either country is a quarter and often decreasing existence. And according to Barbara Bloom, author of a recent report called "Women and Children Last: Single Mothers on Welfare in Nova Scotia," Nova Scotia has the third-highest rate of single-parent families in Canada, fully half of the single mothers live below the poverty line—larger than the national average of 43.6 per cent.

Bloom's report said that the province's two-tier system of welfare "penalizes anyone" in Nova Scotia's five municipalities, now welfare recipients must first seek benefits from the local government—a single-parent family with two children may receive less than \$500 monthly for food and shelter. Only after six months can they apply to enter the second-tier provincial program with its somewhat higher

benefits. As well, the report also concluded that funds for medicine, clothing and school supplies are "usually either insufficient or not available at all."

Roberts has experienced the difficulty of finding money for extras. Her monthly income as a provincial Family Benefits payment of \$645 as welfare and federal Family Allowance cheque of \$86 (her expenses are \$475 for rent, an average \$300 for heat and hydro, \$130 for food and \$37 for telephone and cable TV service). That leaves just \$260 each month for transportation, school expenses and other necessities. Roberts must apply to the City of Halifax for such extraordinary and emergency expenses as drugs (which cost \$66 a month for treatment

from provincial benefits). But like other single mothers on both sides of the border, Roberts found that although a job raised her self-esteem, her finances suffered. "I made less at work than I did on welfare," said Roberts, adding that with a job paying the minimum wage of \$4.50 an hour in Nova Scotia she made about \$720 a month before deductions. "It's a kind of trap," she said. "I don't see how I can afford to take a job that pays \$4.50 an hour."

But her prospects are improving. Roberts has been granted a place in a seasonal skills training course offered by a city-provided program in Halifax called Options. She will be paid between \$70 and \$80 a week during the 30-week course. "Some days I wake



Roberts (left), with Wanda and Shawn. It's the kids I worry about.

up dreading the arrival of the mailman bringing another bill. I can't pay," said Roberts. "But some days I see the light at the end of the tunnel." With a little luck, determination is paid ahead and a social safety net that will continue to catch her should she fall. Roberts's hope is that the future is not just another struggle.

GLEN ALLEN is in Halifax.



Monica with Jessica and Jarrod. Roughly 2 million U.S. single mothers get welfare.

The U.S. system of welfare has often been described as a patchwork. It is a sometimes frustrating network of subsidies, food stamps and medical coverage for those in need, with assistance coming from federal, state and municipal governments as well as numerous private and community support groups. That eclectic system has become a part of daily life for Ramona, 22, a single mother of two who lives in Baginon Village, a 300-unit public housing project on the outskirts of Portland, Me. At 18, Monica gave birth to a daughter, Jessica, who is now 4. And last year, she had a son, Jarrod, by a different man. A well-known high school graduate, Monica has a life that is different in many ways from that of Christine Roberts of Halifax. For one thing, Jarrod is in her pants \$20 (11.3) a week in child support. As well, 85 per cent of the project's 168 residents are single parents and their children. Moreover, four of Monica's neighbors are her ex-patients and two of her two daughters are still in the hospital. Monica's children, Elizabeth, 10, and Jarrod, 4, are the head of the project's Tenant Council, said that "this is one of the worst things about the system: welfare tends to breed welfare."

Monica is one of about three million single mothers in the United States (some half of them black or Hispanic) who depend on public assistance. In 1988, Washington established a

welfare program for single parents, now called Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which in partnership with the 54 state governments and the District of Columbia funds needy families. Almost all AFDC participants also receive food stamps—government vouchers that are honored at a store or supermarket. In addition, AFDC recipients may be granted free medical and prescription drug benefits under Medicaid, a government health insurance program for low-income people (the United States has no universal health care system). But there is no family allowance benefit in the United States. And Monica said that some doctors refuse to accept the first part by Medicaid, while the food stamp program—which does not cover some prescribed drugs, paper products or toiletries—is both arbitrary and demeaning. "It's not the greatest feeling in the world to bring

Do you view the following as an absolute right, which can never be taken away, or as a limited right, one which in certain circumstances can be limited by government?

A guaranteed minimum income for everyone

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
UNITED RIGHT	37%	47%
ABSOLUTE RIGHT	62%	51%

out your savings at the cash register," said Monica. "When you're on welfare, people look down on you."

Each month, Monica receives \$236 (11.5) in AFDC payments for herself and her children, and food stamps worth \$188 (8.5), which, with support payments from Jarrod's father, brings her total monthly income to \$524. Her expenses are lower than those of Roberts. She pays only \$170 (7.5) a month for her publicly subsidized three-bedroom apartment, \$50 (2.5) for telephone and hydro, and between \$0 and 20 per cent less for goods at the local supermarket than does Roberts.

Monica, like Nova Scotia, is still somewhat dependent on federal assistance, and, according to Joan Demas of the State Planning Office, only 55 per cent of the state's welfare is self-funded. It is a full-time job. Yet, in contrast to Nova Scotia, Monica, with its 14,000 single mothers in welfare, is considered among the better jurisdictions for the needy. Los Angeles programs associate

for the Children's Defense Fund, a nonprofit group that advocates better services for poor children, said that with average monthly arrearage payment of \$418 (15.4) for a family of three, Monica ranks 39th among the 50 states. But in Mississippi, one of the nation's poorest states, that figure dips to \$130. The result, said Monica, "is that 20 per cent of our children are living in poverty and there is an increasing number of reports of molestation."

Monica, who has been on welfare for two years, said that every month she has to watch the same scenario of struggle and making do. "It's almost like getting the kids," she said. "And we eat a lot of hamburger and macaroni. At the end of the month, I'm down to a few cans of food. I'm getting high school and the birth of her first child. It's almost like a job a day care. But the wailing, wailing, wailing with the same dilemma as that living Robert a five care job pays only the minimum wage, which in Maine is \$3.75 (1.5) an hour, the equivalent of Nova Scotia's rate of \$4.50. For a 4-hour workweek, Monica could make only about \$600 (2.5) a month before deductions.

With a job, Monica might be a little better off financially, but she would lose other ways. Said Monica: "You may get off welfare and go to work at a fast-food restaurant, but because we don't have the universal health care you do in Canada you're stuck with no health insurance at all." Monica said that returning to work presents daunting problems. "I would certainly feel better about myself going back to work. But with the extra expense it would hardly pay to do it." Still, she is willing to try to study for a diploma in day care work. "What I want probably more than anything," said Monica, echoing Christine Roberts, "is to get off the state completely."

GLEN ALLEN is in Portland.

MACLEAN'S/ DECIMA POLL

IN SEARCH OF PRIDE

NATIVE PEOPLE WANT MORE RESPECT

Little Pine is an Indian reserve, one of the country's 450,000 status native people made. It is spread across 34,000 acres of rolling prairie along the Battle River near the farming town of Carleton Place (population 530) in central Saskatchewan. Seven hundred Cree live there, all descended from the bands whose chiefs signed their names to a treaty with Queen Victoria in 1876. Under it, the Cree exchanged 121,000 square miles of what is now Western Canada for a few farm implements and a small sum of dollars. The reserve is not the largest in the country, nor the smallest. It is neither the richest nor the poorest. In fact, Little Pine is all too typical of native poverty and social neglect. "It doesn't look all that bad but don't let appearances fool you," said scientist Alex Kennedy as he wheeled a motorcade around the reserve's winding dirt roads. "There's a lot of suffering here."

Causing suffering to others is not part of the average Canadian's self-image. As the country craves its Maclean's/Decima poll showed, Canadians like to think of themselves as a tolerant and generous people. But the Canadian Human Rights Commission recently described Canada's treatment of natives as "appalling." In fact, Canada's natives have much in common with their aboriginal brothers in the United States, where a different history of assimilation and different government policies have resulted in many of the same problems. And they are caught in a similar conundrum: they want greater autonomy but they are unprepared to exercise it.

Little Pine is a cross-section of overwhelming despair. Eighty per cent of its population is unemployed. Nearly everyone who has a job works for the government, administering federal and provincial Indian-protection programs that they had little influence in shaping. Nearly 50 per cent of Little Pine's 143 houses—mostly dilapidated little clapboard bungalows—lack the water, sewer, sanitation and central-heating services that are taken for granted in the rest of the country. Half the population is at school age, but only seven students will graduate from Grade 12 this year. It has been only about two years since the federal government replaced the old school on the reserve—a group of ramshackle trailers—

with an expensive 12-room building at a cost of \$5 million.

The course has low of the amenities of urban life. It has fallen victim to urban vices. Alcohol and substance abuse, including drug-dealing, runs among children as young as

Bellegarde of the Regina-based Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. "What we are facing today is a web of racism, paternalism, dependence-producing structures that have us at any one purpose—assimilation." Farly in response to a nationwide campaign



Kennedy: wanting autonomy—but unprepared for it

\$5 million. Gambling is endemic. "Alcohol abuse and drugs are our two biggest problems," said registered nurse Denise Blais, who helps run the reserve's health clinic. In May, 847 of the reserve's 700 people collected social assistance, said Kennedy. "If you get stuck on welfare you eventually have to pay dearly for it; there's no such thing as a free ride. Our people don't even know if eating on welfare is right or wrong any more—they're so used to a lot of help like that."

The Indians blame their problems on bureaucratic and legislative obstacles that severely limit their ability to rule themselves. Canada's status, or officially registered, natives are governed by the 1961 Indian Act and several treaties guaranteeing them such special rights as education and hunting and fishing on their lands. But they have little control over their own lives. Said Pine Vice-Chief Daniel

Bellegarde of the Regina-based Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. "What we are facing today is a web of racism, paternalism, dependence-producing structures that have us at any one purpose—assimilation." Farly in response to a nationwide campaign

at the same time fully accepted of Little Pine's 819-million-dollar grant, the year was expended by Ottawa for social assistance. Another one-third went for education. Most of the rest was used to finance the expensive and maintenance of the reserve and the workings of basic elected council. Only \$10,000 was set aside to

such the band how to run the system. The money is expected to take over the operation of the school but, so far, residents have received little guidance on how to prepare for it. Said Little Pine band manager Bernice Pessik: "They created this mess and now they want to transfer the management to us without transferring the resources to manage it."

The status quo, that is, are also concerned that Ottawa may use development as an excuse to eliminate special treaty rights and benefits—excluding fully paid postsecondary education—an return for greater autonomy, said Kennedy. "We've got to be very careful that self-determination isn't just another white man's ploy to rub us of our rights." The most wary is not critical for Canada's self-image as it is for the people of Little Pine.

BARREY CAMEL is in Carleton



The Bear Paw Mountains are well named. They appear to shroud across the northern Montana plain, a cluster of lumbering hills 1500 feet south of Saskatchewan's Little Pine Indian Reserve. A band of American Indians lives in the Bear Paw at a reserve called Rocky Boy. Like the residents of Little Pine they are Cree and Chipewyan. But their 107,000-acre reserve is more than 100 miles from the heart of Little Pine. And the Montana Indians have already attained many of the trappings of self-determination sought by Saskatchewan's natives: their own tribal government, administration, judicial system, police force, health system, educational and welfare programs—on a far and bigger scale. Still, Rocky Boy's 2,500 inhabitants seem to be as disadvantaged as Little Pine's residents. What is more, they say that they are siphoned off the prospect that their relatives across the border would even contemplate following their example. "If this is what they want in Canada," said former tribal Judge George Stump in the ward on an around of the modern homes dotting the gravel hills of the reserve, "then you better tell them to think about it again."

While the Cree and Chipewyan of Rocky Boy appear to have more control over their own destiny than do many in reserve they are still struggling with interference from the white state's government. And for Indians on a reserve with no resources self-government has resulted in few material advantages over the Indians in Little Pine. The same old history of problems affects both Canadian and American communities. The average annual income at Rocky Boy is less than \$2,000 (U.S.). Unemployment is slightly more than 60 per cent. Almost everyone who does have a job works for the govern-

ment, either the local tribal authorities or the federal and state agencies that run reserve programs. Welfare is a way of life, just not at Little Pine. In May, 400 families, roughly 90 per cent of Rocky Boy's population, collected so-called General Assistance payments from the federal Treasury of Indian Affairs—\$38 (U.S.) per person every two weeks.

Clapboard bungalows, most without central heating and many without electric sanitation, predominate. Substance abuse is as widespread as in Little Pine. Stump, who served for four years as a judge in the tribal courts, estimated that 90 per cent of the cases the band were directly related to alcohol or drugs. Declared Duncan Stender Rock, the band's public defender: "Everyone I represent is in trouble because of liquor or drugs or both." But there are differences between the two communities. For one, the Montana Indians are better educated. There are more university graduates, run by the tribe, extending from preschool to college level.

Stump: charges of official assistance in native affairs

ment, either the local tribal authorities or the federal and state agencies that run reserve programs. Welfare is a way of life, just not at Little Pine. In May, 400 families, roughly 90 per cent of Rocky Boy's population, collected so-called General Assistance payments from the federal Treasury of Indian Affairs—\$38 (U.S.) per person every two weeks.

this country is a shame," said Gary Engleman, a tribal elder. "It is designed to make us feel, to tempt us to be a separate people."

Engleman says that while federal authorities have instituted local self-government, they do not respect it in practice. He points out that most of this year's \$4 million (U.S.) budget is derived from allocating 12 separate federal assistance programs, ranging from preschool child care to support for adult businesses. But 53 cents of every federal dollar budgeted for Indians is taken up with administrative costs that it reaches the reserve. And the funds that do finally trickle down are closely monitored by the federal government to disallow support for Indian customs.

Earlier this year, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeal in San Francisco upheld Engleman's conviction for contempt, leading down a two-year suspended sentence. His crime was to authorize the payment of a \$38 (U.S.) welfare cheque to a Rocky Boy band member who was not entitled to it. "It's pretty hard to swallow," he argued as he sat sipping coffee in the bungalow he shares with his wife. "Sometimes I wish the white man would just go back to wherever it was he came from and leave us in peace." It is a wish often voiced with passion by native people as they see the contrast.

BARREY CAMEL is on the Rocky Boy Reserve



This year, all Grade 12 students graduated.

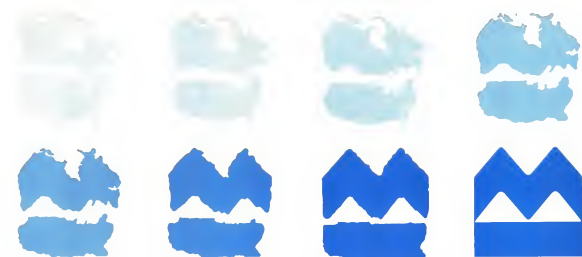
In other areas, however, Rocky Boy residents seem to be less fortunate than those of Little Pine. South-eastern is a tribal responsibility, organized under a state-chartered insurance corporation. But because the band has few income sources, Rocky Boy's people collectively own the hospital in Havre, a transportation and manufacturing community of 11,000, 54 km north of the reserve, more than \$200,000 (U.S.) in unpaid medical bills. As a result, some band members have been refused admission to hospital. A similar although less drastic situation prevails at the local funeral home, where Rocky Boy Indians have been unable to pay the costs of an embalming—required under Montana law—and burial. Declared Stump: "Not only can we not afford to get rich, we cannot even afford to die."

Like Canada's Indians, many of the United States' 1.5 million natives, who live on 304 large reserves, blame their own on a system designed to destroy the history of Indian self-determination



Would you be happy, indifferent, or unhappy if one of your children married someone from a different racial background?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
UNHAPPY	13%	32%
INDIFFERENT	60%	51%
HAPPY	25%	15%



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TRANS-BORDER POLLUTION

CAMPAIGNS BEGIN FOR CLEANER WATER



The townships have drift of slowly from the northwest and gradually headed in the afternoon sunshine with another delicate stroke moving from the northwest. From his balcony across Howe Sound, a Pacific coast city just north of Vancouver, Terry Jacks watched as the polluting haze partially obscured the snowcapped mountains on the sound's north shore. For 30 years, Jacks has lived in Horseshoe Bay on the south shore and has seen the haze almost daily. But Jacks, a former pulp-jugger whose 1974 release *Seasons in the Sun* is the last-best-selling single record in history, has devoted much of the past few years to a crusade against pollution in the region's air and water. His main targets have been the Port Mellon pulp mill to the northwest and the Woodlief pulp mill to the northeast. Jacks, spokesman for the 6,500-member Environmental Watch, "When I see the destruction, it makes me feel pretty sick."

Although the haze from the mills is a visible menace, Jacks says that his concern is the invisible yet dangerous toxins that the mills discharge into Howe Sound. In 1986 and 1987 the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) discovered dioxin, the most toxic of man-made substances, and other poisons in sewage downstream from five U.S. kraft pulp mills (kraft is a chemical method of pulping). Those mills used chlorine to bleach wood pulp to make white paper products. Further studies by the EPA, Environment Canada and the Swedish government confirmed the presence of the toxins—known as abusable organic halogens (AOH)—in the effluent of kraft chlorine pulp mills.

In North America, 151 of the more than 750 pulp mills use chlorine—including the mills at Woodlief and Port Mellon. Indeed, last November, much of the three-thousand-tonne industry was closed because of dioxin levels. Declared Jacks, 45, a self-proclaimed environmental evangelist: "We have to stop the chlorine bleaching of pulp now."

In May his group claimed at least a partial victory when the B.C. government proposed

though new laws regulating acid discharges by pulp mills—understanding public concern over dioxin and other toxins in pulp mill effluent. As the *Maclean's/Decima* poll indicates, Canadian and American both consider the necessary action a top priority. The Canadian government is developing the first national standards to regulate acid discharges. And in the United States, the EPA is developing pollution-fighting strategies with the states.

Under the proposed B.C. legislation, the province's pulp mills will be forced to severely reduce AOH discharges, beginning in 1991 and continuing through 1994. But although environmentalists, especially those in the Howe Sound area, have consistently welcomed the changes, they are critical of the fact that until their mills will continue to pollute the sound—which has already been ravaged by toxics. On Nov. 30, 1988, much of the steel industry in the sound was closed after tests confirmed high levels of dioxin in crab, grouse and fish—also been extended to mid-June. Declared Jacks: "Ironically, they are shutting the factory—just the source." And at times the battle to save the sound has been fierce on May 4, four days before the province as-



Jacks on endangered Howe Sound: "When I destruction, it makes me feel pretty sick."

passed the new measures. Greenpeace activists chained themselves to the chlorine subducting dock at the Woodlief mill and unfurled a banner reading "Stop chlorine use now."

Although the Woodlief mill owned by Western Pulp Ltd. (Zetchem Inc.), has submitted a \$70-million cleanup program, it will meet the proposed 1991 provincial deadline by a year. However, officials say that the company will be able to comply with the 1994 standard that the Bays Summit Pulp and Paper Ltd. mill at Port Mellon will comply with the new standards well before the deadline. After installing a \$1-billion restructuring and expansion program, the mill, a joint venture between Ramoover's Centre Corp. and Japan's Oji Paper Co., will meet the new AOH discharge limits by July, 1990—40 years ahead of schedule.

Indeed, company officials say that they will use the latest technology available. Said Tera Kilian, 36, a marine biologist with Greenpeace in Vancouver: "We have to applaud them for that." Still, Kilian added, "total construction is completed next July, their discharge is among the lowest on the coast." He said Jacks also said that the government's legislation should have included the companies to pollute at all. Declared Kilian: "It is a good step, but unfortunately the regulations do not follow through to their logical conclusion, which is zero discharge." That goal may be as hard to realize as a clear view from the balconies of Horseshoe Bay.



The fit, arguable farm-like environs, the plateau that stretches out to the east of the Columbia River in southwest Washington state. Before the river town was sown, the county, it passes the village of Wallula, about 320 km southeast of Seattle, and the nearby River Cascade Corp. Wallula pulp-and-paper mill. Like so other kraft mills in Washington—and the Port Mellon and Woodlief mills on Howe Sound in

Bernice and Harold Cassegrain accepting progress, regardless of the cost.



with the EPA's approval. Pulpsters will then have until 1993 to meet the new standards.

The Washington state's polluting pulp mills, those impending regulations will likely mean that they will have to drastically curb their discharges of dioxin—a known carcinogen that is part of the group of toxic chemicals called abusable organic halogens (AOH). The EPA, whose 1988 and 1987 studies first detected the presence of dioxin in kraft chlorine-bleaching pulp mills, has no authority to enforce its recommended criterion of no more than 8013 units of dioxin per quadrillion units of water at the point where mill effluents are discharged. But that standard is intended to be used as a guideline by the states—and experts acknowledge that it is a tough cut. Explained Dennis Ross, a chemical engineer and environmental engineer for those Cascade at Wallula: "Present technology can only treat down to 10 parts per quadrillion. In another perspective, that is one second in 32,000 years."

In effect, said Richard Berkebaier, supervisor of the Washington state department of ecology's industrial division, the attempt to regulate dioxin is "a very difficult task. It is a battle not of dioxin as three effluents." And Berkebaier added that that is what Washington state needs to accomplish with new regulations. Washington state officials are also developing guidelines to curb other AOH discharges associated with the use of the kraft chlorine-bleaching pulp mills. Officials say that they hope to have those guidelines in place within two years and bring pollution into compliance by 1990. Those measures will bring the pulp-and-paper industry in Washington state in step with federal and other government guidelines. The government has developed guidelines already to pass this bill that will severely cut all AOH discharges. And for their part, environmentalists say that the new standards cannot be delayed. Said Greenpeace's Stewart: "We need to control the whole industry of reprehensibles, and they're better off to it."

Meanwhile, as the tiny village of Wallula, population 50, the residents have lower for years that the mill is failing the river. Said Bernice Cassegrain, 77, who along with her husband, Harold, has lived in the village since 1953: "We know that everything is going to kill us out day. And we heard last month that there were dead salmon floating in the river here below the mill. Their discharges into the river is not as good as it should be." But Cassegrain added that among Wallula residents, some of whom work at River Cascade, the pollution from the pulp mills is not a big topic of conversation. "We don't talk about it," she said. "You have to accept progress as whatever form it comes. I don't get stuck up over it." Still, environmentalists say that AOH discharges are also high a priority to use for progress. And of course are eliminated from mill effluent, perhaps in the Cassegrain's lifetime, dead salmon will no longer surface downstream from where they live.

Would you favor or oppose shutting down a major company which provided many jobs in your community if it was polluting the environment?

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
OPPOSE	37%	33%
FAVOR	60%	64%



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MACLEAN'S/ DECIMA POLL

A NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE



The complete Maclean's poll of 1,000 Canadians and 1,000 Americans was conducted by Toronto-based Decima Research. The results are rounded and accurate to within 3.3 percentage points (9 times out of 10).

(To Canadians) What is the most important problem facing Canada today, the one that concerns you the most?
Pollution/environment 17%
Unemployment 13%
Free trade 9%
Deficit/national debt 9%
Socialism 9%
Inflation 9%

(To Americans) What is the most important problem facing the United States today, the one that concerns you the most?
Drugs/alcohol 19%
Deficit 16%
Socialism 6%
Racism/poverty 6%
Pollution/environment 2%
Economy 2%

Would you be prepared to see either taxes increased significantly or services cut in order to reduce the federal deficit?

	Canada	United States
Yes	62%	54%
No	38%	44%

Quebec residents were significantly less likely than other Canadians to be willing to see their taxes increased or services cut in order to reduce the federal deficit.
Quebec 32%

Do you feel that you can count on government to act in the public interest all of the time, most of the time, hardly ever or never?

	Canada	United States
Never	3%	7%
Hardly ever	38%	37%
Most of the time	48%	54%
All of the time	5%	2%
No opinion	1%	

(Numbers have been rounded and may not add up to 100 per cent.)

Do you feel that you can count on government to act in the public interest all of the time, most of the time, hardly ever or never?

	Canada	United States
Never	3%	7%
Hardly ever	38%	37%
Most of the time	51%	56%
All of the time	5%	2%
No opinion	7%	

In times of crisis, do you believe government should or should not have the power to declare a national emergency and remove all civil rights?

	Canada	United States
Should not	62%	56%
Should	38%	41%
No opinion	2%	2%

Quebecers would be less willing than other Canadians to have civil rights removed.
Quebec average 48%
Quebec 37%

Cape Breton pipers' stereotypes answered



Do you view the following as an absolute right that can never be taken away, or as a limited right, one which in certain circumstances can be limited by government?

a) Job protection for a woman on pregnancy leave

	Canada	United States
Limited right	52%	27%
Absolute right	71%	72%
No opinion		1%

b) A publicly funded health care system available to all, regardless of financial situation

	Canada	United States
Limited right	39%	6%
Absolute right	71%	52%
No opinion		2%

c) A guaranteed minimum income for everyone

	Canada	United States
Limited right	37%	47%
Absolute right	62%	57%
No opinion	1%	2%

d) Child care available to everyone who wants it

	Canada	United States
Limited right	56%	57%
Absolute right	56%	48%
No opinion		1%

Quebecers were much more likely than Ontario residents to say that a guaranteed minimum income is an absolute right.

Canadian average 62%
Metropolitan Toronto 43%
The rest of Ontario 42%
Quebec 75%

British Columbia residents were less likely than residents of any other province to say that child care should be an absolute right.

Canadian average 50%
Metropolitan Toronto 65%
The rest of Ontario 38%
Quebec 48%
British Columbia 39%
Atlantic provinces 48%

Have you ever been robbed or assaulted?

	Canada	United States
Yes	21%	26%
No	79%	74%

Do you own a handgun?

	Canada	United States
Yes	2%	24%
No	97%	75%
No opinion		1%

Are you afraid to walk alone on the streets of your community at night?

	Canada	United States
Yes	24%	31%
No	76%	69%

Young Americans between the ages of 18 and 24 expressed greater fear of walking alone at night in their communities than did Canadians of the same age group.
Canadian average 24%
Canadians (18 to 24) 16%
U.S. average 30%
Americans (18 to 24) 38%

Have you ever used illegal drugs?

	Canada	United States
Yes	21%	13%
No	79%	86%
No opinion		1%

Young Americans are more likely than young Canadians to have used illegal drugs.

Canadian average 13%
Canadians (18 to 24) 17%
U.S. average 17%
Americans (18 to 24) 31%

Would you favor or oppose shutting down a major company that doesn't pay its fair share of taxes to your community if it was putting up the most serious?

	Canada	United States
Oppose	37%	33%
Favor	60%	64%
No opinion	3%	3%

Protesters are more likely to favor shutting down a polluter.
Canadian average 60%
Protesters 72%
Quebec 54%

What do you think is better for Canada/the United States that can encourage/encourage to maintain their distinct culture and ways, or to change their distinct culture and ways to blend with the larger society?

	Canada	United States
Maintain	34%	47%
Change	61%	51%
No opinion	5%	2%

Young Canadians are more likely than young Americans to say that immigrants should change their customs.

Canadian average 61%
Canadians (18 to 24) 57%
U.S. average 51%
Americans (18 to 24) 34%

Would you be happy, indifferent or unhappy if one of your children married someone from a different racial background?

	Canada	United States
Happy	13%	22%
Indifferent	60%	51%
Unhappy	25%	25%
No opinion	2%	2%

Have you ever been the victim of racial or ethnic discrimination?

	Canada	United States
Yes	12%	18%
No	88%	82%

Residents of Metropolitan Toronto were more likely than other Canadians to have been the victims of racial or ethnic discrimination.
Canadian average 12%
Metropolitan Toronto 24%
The rest of Ontario 10%
Atlantic provinces 5%



Memorial Day in Washington: the meeting got under the vertical attack

(To Canadians) If you had to describe Americans in one word, what would it be?

Secure 17%	Good 9%	Proud 6%	Aggressive 5%	Powerful 5%	Unpleasant 4%	Indifferent 4%	Stupid 3%	Rich 3%	Neighbours 3%	Capitulate 3%	Don't know 3%
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Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose Canada and the United States adopting common and identical policy on all matters relating to defense and foreign affairs?

	Canada	United States
Strongly oppose	24%	4%
Oppose	36%	13%
Support	33%	58%
Strongly support	5%	15%
No opinion	2%	2%

(To Americans) If you had to describe Canadians in one word, what would it be?

Secure 17%	Good 9%	Proud 6%	Aggressive 5%	Powerful 5%	Unpleasant 4%	Indifferent 4%	Stupid 3%	Rich 3%	Neighbours 3%	Capitulate 3%	Don't know 3%
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Would you describe Canadians and Americans as essentially the same, nearly the same but with some small differences, mostly different but with some small similarities, or essentially different?

	Canada	United States
Essentially the same	13%	18%
Nearly the same	42%	66%
Mostly different	24%	15%
Essentially different	15%	9%
No opinion		2%

Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose Canada and the United States adopting common and identical policy on all matters relating to defense and foreign affairs?

	Canada	United States
Strongly oppose	24%	4%
Oppose	36%	13%
Support	33%	58%
Strongly support	5%	15%
No opinion	2%	2%

Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose Canada becoming the 51st state of the United States with full citizenship?

	Canada	United States
Strongly favor	24%	4%
Favor	36%	13%
Oppose	33%	58%
Strongly oppose	5%	15%
No opinion	2%	2%

Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose Canada becoming the 51st state of the United States with full citizenship?

	Canada	United States
Strongly favor	24%	4%
Favor	36%	13%
Oppose	33%	58%
Strongly oppose	5%	15%
No opinion	2%	2%

Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose Canada becoming the 51st state of the United States with full citizenship?

	Canada	United States
Strongly favor	24%	4%
Favor	36%	13%
Oppose	33%	58%
Strongly oppose	5%	15%
No opinion	2%	2%

Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose Canada becoming the 51st state of the United States with full citizenship?

all representations and rights of American citizenship?

	Canada	United States
Strongly oppose	54%	16%
Oppose	31%	22%
Favor	12%	54%
Strongly favor	3%	13%
No opinion	1%	3%

Quebecers were more likely than other Canadians to favor joining the United States.
Canadian average 14%
Quebec 23%
Metropolitan Toronto 14%
The rest of Ontario 9%

Would you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose Canada and the United States adopting a common currency?

	Canada	United States
Strongly oppose	21%	4%
Oppose	23%	19%
Favor	40%	42%
Strongly favor	5%	22%
No opinion	3%	2%

Quebecers were more likely than other Canadians to favor a common currency with the United States.
Canadian average 49%
Quebec 60%

Are you aware that Canada and the United States recently signed a Free Trade Agreement?

	Canada	United States
Yes	97%	97%
No	3%	43%

(To Canadians) Which one of these words, in your view, best describes the ideal Canadian?
Tolerant 38%
Independent-minded 27%
Peaceful 26%
Aggressive 3%
Clean 3%
Sexy 1%
No opinion 1%

(To Americans) Which one of these words, in your view, best describes the ideal American?
Independent-minded 52%
Tolerant 21%
Aggressive 12%
Peaceful 12%
Clean 3%
Sexy 1%
No opinion 1%

(To Canadians) If you had to rate American men/women on a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 was

"very unattractive" and 10 was "very attractive," how would you place them?
mean attractiveness rating: 6.17
(To Americans) If you had to rate Canadian men/women on a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 was "very unattractive" and 10 was "very attractive," how would you place them?
mean attractiveness rating: 6.31

(To Canadians) Would you like to send your children to the United States to attend university or college?
Yes 41%
No 50%
No opinion 2%

(To Americans) Would you like to send your children to Canada to attend university or college?
Yes 28%
No 39%
No opinion 2%



Italian-Americans at New York City street fair: varying tolerance levels

(To Canadians) Who would you say is Canada's biggest trading partner?
United States 83%
Japan 8%
China 3%
Russia 1%
No opinion 6%

(To Americans) Who would you say is the United States' biggest trading partner?
Japan 66%
Canada 12%
China 3%
U.K./Britain 2%
Soviet Union 2%
Germany 2%
No opinion 6%

(To Canadians) Would you like to live in the United States?
Yes 27%
No 72%

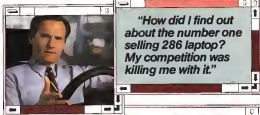
(To Americans) Would you like to live in Canada?
Yes 42%
No 58%
No opinion 2%

(To Canadians) What do you like least about America?
Superior attitude 33%
Nothing 33%
Lack of knowledge about Canada 7%
Aggressive 5%
Crime/terrorism 4%
Least 3%
Selfish/greedy 3%
Military 3%
Social discrimination 3%
Polls 3%
Unfriendly 3%
Don't know 13%

(To Americans) What do you like least about Canada?
Nothing 37%
Do not know Canadians 14%
Do not know about them 14%
French-speaking 6%
They think they are better 3%
Don't know 4%
Amalgam 2%

(To Canadians) Do you know who the vice-president of the United States is?
Yes, Dan Quayle 35%
No 50%
Yes, other 3%
No opinion 1%

(To Americans) Do you know who the prime minister of Canada is?
Yes, Brian Mulroney 11%
No 84%
Yes, other 3%



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THEY URGED THIS MAN TO USE HIS CAR INSURANCE FOR ALL IT WAS WORTH

AND HE FOUND IT WAS WORTH A NEW LEASE ON LIFE

Doug Chrepyk, a roofer by trade, learned how a minor accident can become a major threat to one's livelihood and plans for the future. He also learned what it means to be insured with a company that goes out of its way to keep its promises.

Six years ago, Doug was a passenger beside his wife who was driving their new car. They were stopped for a red light when their car was rear-ended and forced into the car ahead. It happens hundreds of times a day and—again all too common—the driver who hit them was charged with Impaired Driving.

Both Doug and his wife had apparently slight injuries. They were checked at a local hospital and released. It seemed they had both escaped with minor problems. The more than \$2000 damage to their car was covered.

About a week later Doug had returned to work but back pain was getting more severe. He was re-admitted to hospital and it was soon obvious that back injury was far more serious than had been suspected. He wasn't going to be a roofer any more.

It was while dealing with this drastic change to his life and its effect on his family that Doug Chrepyk discovered that pouring No Fault Accident Benefits payments to meet everyday expenses were only the beginning of what it means to be insured by a company like Zurich.

A rehabilitation professional engaged by Zurich worked with Doug to help him deal with lifestyle adjustments as much as he worked on recovering from his physical injuries.

The Zurich rehabilitation program helped with tuition and living expenses so he could attend George Brown College in Toronto. He completed Barriending and Hospitality courses, then moved on to a two year Hotel Management program. He was allowed to graduate early to take a Sales Management position with a major Toronto hotel. He moved on to other positions, each bringing greater responsibilities. Then he returned to George Brown College to become a Staff Member.

Doug started by developing a program to help students find placements in the hospitality industry as part of their college program. This led to co-authoring a guide to employment as a handy tool for students wanting to pursue the Hospitality business as a career. He still finds time to teach a course in Barriending among his other projects.

In Doug's words, "as easy as it sounds, the accident and the way Zurich helped me get started on a new career was probably the best thing that could have happened to me."

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WE'LL BE THERE WHEN YOU NEED US

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TELLING STATISTICS

PROFILES IN NUMBERS



To outsiders, the distinction between Canadian and American often appears as subtle as it is almost meaningless. But the following comparisons show that while there are numerous similarities between the two countries, there are also some startling differences.

THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Crime rates	Canada	United States
(per 100,000 population)		
Homicide	3.5	8.8
Violent sexual crime	5.3	37.4
Burglary	1,245.1	1,329.0
Robbery	87.8	112.7
Motor vehicle theft	239.7	538.4

(Excludes aggravated sexual assault and sexual assault with a weapon, threat or attempt of rape, "breaking and entering" of residences and business premises only, "unlawful entry to commit a felony or theft")

Law enforcement

	Canada	United States
Number of police	2	2.1
(per 100,000 population)		
% of police	11	16.4
Police officers killed in line of duty in 2007	3	73
Drug arrests in 2007	169	385
(per 100,000 population)		

Firearms

	Canada	United States
Homicides by firearms	34.2	59.1
(as % of total homicides)		
Homicides by handgun	8.8	43.7
(as % of total homicides)		
Homicides by rifle	0.7	4.3
(as % of total homicides)		
Homicides by shotgun	7.2	6.1
(as % of total homicides)		
Estimated number of guns in the country	no estimate	200 million (and 40 million handguns)

Number of registered restricted weapons	943,185	no registration
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(While all inventory figures are in Canadian dollars, statistics, unless stated, are for 1997 or later.)

POINTS OF REFERENCE

Length of the Canada/U.S. border
5,237 mi. (8,403 km)
Land mass of Canada
3,851,800 sq. mi. (9,970,126 sq. km)—
the second-largest in the world
of the United States
3,616,192 sq. mi. (9,365,123 sq. km)—
the fourth-largest in the world
Estimated population of Canada
30,340,000
of the United States
246,895,000
Urban population as a percentage of
total population (projected for 1995)
Canada: 76.3
United States: 74.1

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The paid help	Canada	United States
Basic salary, Prime Minister & President	\$153,400	\$239,640
Federal public servants (excluding military)	14.8	21.4
(per 1,000 population)		
Per capita cost of the federal public service (including military)	\$215.41	\$661.37

Elected Federal Legislators

	Canada	United States
% of women legislators	13.6	5.2
Of bankers, businessmen	24.4	31.1
Of lawyers	16.7	45.3
Of teachers, educators	15.6	9.9
Of career public servants, politicians	13.2	21.3

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

Jobs and incomes	Canada	United States
Unemployment rate, May, 1998	7.7%	5.2%
Employment growth, 1990-1997	11.8%	13.3%
Average household savings for 1990-1996	14.7	8
(% of disposable income)		

Average male income	\$31,825	\$35,553
Average female income	\$21,812	\$20,443
Percentage of women with jobs	51.3%	52.7%
Personal income tax per capita	\$3,224	\$3,636

Lifestyle	Canada	United States
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Average cost for a vacant one-bedroom apartment in downtown Toronto/New York	\$674.95	\$2,396.41
% of homes with VCRs	45	58

Canadian

	Canada	United States
Statistics (1994-1995)		
(per 100,000 population)		
Divorces (1995)	11.3	10.7
(per 1,000 population)		
Estimated number of households (as % of total population) in population below the poverty line (1996)	8.6	1.9
% of unemployed past government assistance	37	14
	85	36

THE ENVIRONMENT

	Canada	United States
Per capita emissions of sulphur dioxide, 1996	144.8 kg (319.2 lb.)	57.7 kg (127.3 lb.)
Per capita emissions of arsenic oxide, 1996	36.5 kg (80.5 lb.)	79.9 kg (176.3 lb.)
Number of operable nuclear power reactors	18	111
Amount of energy (in all expanded/used) produced one unit of coal	36 tons	62 tons
Per capita average annual municipal waste generation from 1995 to 1996	642 kg (1,412 lb.)	744 kg (1,637 lb.)
Number of endangered animal species	39	332

Statistics compiled by SCOTT STEELE with JULIE CARRON and ANN MCGREGOR

ESSAY

A SENSE OF COUNTRY

McLaren's *Foreign Editor* Bill Lewis, who is originally from Philadelphia, Pa., moved to Toronto in October, 1985. He traveled from coast to coast for this article on an American's impressions of Canada. (He reports)

I have not seen any moose. No walrus, no musk-ox, no cuddly little seals. Even from the cockpit of a small propeller plane, 1,500 feet over the mountainous Mackenzie Delta in the northwest Arctic, I spotted not a single furry pelter bear lumbering out of hibernation to complete the picture. "Fossils have been coming right up into the coasts," advised Ronald Knudsen, who runs a general store in the tiny Arctic settlement of Alukuk. "You are then running around, and they're trapped, walking inners." But not when I was there. I did see an impressive 6-foot Band National Park, trotting casually by the roadside, but for me Canada's wildlife has consisted mostly of seagulls, swallows and muskrat runs across my Toronto neighborhood. And maybe that is just as well, it has forced an American, newly arrived, to stand in their "moose" half of the huge arctic-alpine-Mountainous climate. While trying to discover the real Canada—especially the one beyond Toronto, which, as an ex-Torontonian, was quick to agree, is not really Canada—I have had to focus on the people.

And this is what I have found: most Canadians—regardless of what the media say—are not sitting around worrying about what a Canadian is. Nor do they conform to that other set of standards, the ones Canadians are supposed to hold about themselves. Where are all those

AN AMERICAN NOW IN CANADA FINDS FIERCE PRIDE AND A TRUE PASSION FOR THE LAND

polite, self-debating people whom so many of the ones I have met are colorful, confident and passionately at love with their land?

All right, I admit it, a few bigoted types may reside in Toronto. They certainly show up in their baseball caps, dripping with the politeness of leopards, trying to snarl and mouthing that most awful of light songs, "Okey doke, Okey Jays." In fact, to say most there is something curious, if paradoxical about the city as a whole, as when someone's story boasting everything but a soul it is kinder, gentler, cleaner and certainly safer than any U.S. city is any—my visiting American friends invariably find it wonderful and somewhat understated at New York City, less so at a place in the Canadian national consciousness. My own feelings fall closer to the American view. But "I love Toronto" could never be the city's slogan—no, I like Toronto just as perfectly.

It has been out there, outside the city, in the more far-flung sectors of the coast, resolutely

independant of nations, that I have found Canada at its more extreme, independent, quirky—even romantic, as an Canadian's word as that it is supposed to be. One snow-covered morning in Poole Cove, a fishing village-turned-suburb north of St. John's, Nfld., I visited William Newsworthy in his white clapboard house high on Newsworthy's Hill. Blue-eyed and middle-aged, Newsworthy sat in the kitchen by a wood stove, distractedly smoking a cigarette. He was 68 and had just retired the year before after four decades of fishing, but he still stared out the window at the North Atlantic. "There's something that draws you to it," he said in the rich accent of "the Rock."

We ate, 31-year-old Barry, sipping a Lantana's beer, recalled that once, when he was 13, his father caught him whistling in a boat. "He was going to throw me overboard," said Barry. "It's just bad luck." William explained: "You don't whistle on the water. You wouldn't dare. You wouldn't touch your boat on Friday either. They're just superstitions, maybe. But several years ago, someone launched a big fishing trawler on a Friday, and the boat was lost on a Friday, and all the crew members, too." A cruise liner, William pulled out a ship's log, recalled and played a jig, tapping his foot, but he again never left the water.

Newsworthy was also a place to sample Canadian regionalism at its most idiosyncratic and entrenched. The province's midsize fishermen claim that their very way of life is endangered by declining cod catches, which they blame on oil-spill fishing, often by foreigners. And they blame Ottawa for not looking out for their interests—even 80 years after joining Canada.

eration, the old refrain still comes quickly to some residents' lips. "A Newsworthy's best, a Canadian's worst." But in a Poole Cove town store, where four de-hair fishermen reported their cod traps while country music droned from a tape player, Frank Newsworthy, a slim, mustache-bearded man of Barry, said that he reported the Newsworthy-fishermen's sentiment—and would say rather for Canadian than American. "In the States," he said, "these

are Newsworthians who moved to the States. They forgot their roots. They're sort of looking down their noses, sort of expecting that there are people here trying to maintain their heritage."

Canada has hardly cornered the market on regionalism. A divided Great Britain fought an horrific civil war in the 1850s, and as a north-america who his best down South I can admit to



Christmas market in Vancouver: Arctic dog teams: Jasper, even romance

that's got it, gets more than that don't, gets less. The Canadian government's most generous toward people that don't have."

Newsworthy has met many American tourists and he has not been impressed: "They come in their flashy cars," he said, "putting on airs. They seem to think they're a superior race, but I haven't seen one that's superior to me yet." He pulled at the bottom of his white tank, he had one more thing to say, a point of both contempt and pride: "Sense of the west"

the fact that, to some northeastern, the old resentments have not gone with the west. But the United States also has the Midway Park, the American Dream, the Flight of All-American, the Hollywood-enhanced legend of Errol Flynn and even Ronald Reagan—an ever-enlarging collection of nationalistic symbols, myths and legends that bind the country together. Like glue, they may sometimes seem sticky and make-believe, but they do the job.

On the other hand, Canada, writes Toronto

to author Juan Calles, "have never created a myth that would unify them into a nation,"—except for Quebec's nationalism. The question of Quebec's nationalism, having up again over Premier Robert Bourassa's decision last December to prohibit English on outdoor commercial signs, has again become a hot issue in Canada. Much of the sentiment seems to reflect that of French-Canadian William Newsworthy, who said, "They're always looking for special treatment—if they want to get out of Canada, let 'em get out."

In Montreal, there is no missing the passion behind the sign law. But in the office of Daniel Lacombe, a political scientist and a former advisor to René Lévesque, the separatist Quebec premier who died in 1987, I asked whether Quebecers had a special affinity for Americans—whether, as Calles implies, the two share a romantic vision of themselves. "There is a belief here," he replied, "that there are only two kinds of North Americans—Americans and Quebecers. Two kinds of people who travel to visit North America in all about. One is much bigger, the other one less. But both have a dream."

That is the land of language an American can understand. But it may be a sign of American regionalism that few people south of the international border, I suspect, would immediately exclude Quebecers as such a common-sense club of citizens. In fact, the Quebec issue is quite largely foreign to Americans. The classic U.S. regionalism is the current push by Spanish-speakers in some states for official bilingualism. English-speakers have reacted angrily, and 17 states have now declared English to be their official language. But the Hispanics are mostly recent immigrants, not a colonizing people like Quebec francophones—and on American can seriously imagine Florida trying to secede from the union.

In a 37th-floor Montreal office looking out toward the Mount St. Lawrence, I asked Canadian lawyer Ronald Macdonald whether there was anything linking the English and French together, any mutual appeal in Canada. Macdonald thought about it and smiled. "Our



'MOST CANADIANS ARE NOT WORRYING ABOUT WHAT A CANADIAN IS'

hockey teams—hey, that's Canada's game!" I would recall that answer on a plane the next day, when the Edmonton Oilers were on board and a steady stream of young passengers—mostly men wearing their card pants and red and white Con-Quest sweatshirts—talked about how "we're not the biggest country population-wise but we produce the best hockey players." But in Montreal's office, hockey seemed more than just a sport—it was the gold standard. "At one point," the lawyer said, "Quebec businessmen were talking about having our own team. The argument against that is, 'Hey, you've got to have Mario Lemieux and Wayne Gretzky on the same team or the Russians will beat us.'"

No Canadian region has left a more indelible impression on me than the North. The frontier is among the most enduring of American symbols and while the American West was settled long ago, the Canadian North still lies empty and alluring—a distant dreamworld reachable by Boeing 737. Last March, I visited Inuvik, N.W.T., a government-built town on the east side of the Mackenzie Delta. It is a colony of far-travelled patios and lightly colored houses, with a church shaped like an igloo and a bar called The Zoo.

But, more traditionally, it also has an RCMP detachment, a CAC office and a Hudson's Bay Co. store. "Twelve hundred miles from anywhere," said Mayor John Bell, "and here's a small-town Canadian—at least the way the businessmen decided it would be." Which raises the question: how can a country whose government knows exactly what a Canadian town should look like—and can create one from scratch 200 km north of the Arctic Circle—have such a famously chaotic identity crisis?

For one, Inuvik treated feelings of civilizational slump as its 30°C mid. On the one hand, there is the exhilarating remote sense of the place and the appeal of its many immigrants to the area—primarily business people who come originally from Scotland, Germany, Greece, even Lebanon. "You've got to have the balls to come and get started in business here," noted Bill, a British transplant. "But once you have the competitiveness not to refuse it as would be, say, Lebanon."

On the other hand, there is a local native population with profound problems. I am suspicious of many explanations. I also know that Americans hear their own shame over their appalling treatment of natives, and I know that for all the latitude, many native people have suffered in Canada. They have been exposed to elite legislators, tight job laws and market socialism. But in the North, the despairing side of the garrison as an ethos is any body else's. Inuvik's RCMP Cpl. John de Jong explained that at least 50 per cent of local citizens are alcohol-

related. "These are not what you'd call social drinkers," said de Jong. "They drink until the liquor is gone and then they search for more. Thus we end up having to look after them on a regular basis."

The native problems go beyond alcohol—the suicide rate among the Inuit of the Northwest Territories is four times the national average. "There's a lot of grief," confessed Diane Nelson,



Frank Newbury: Canada is more generous

a program co-ordinator with the Canadian Mental Health Association office in Inuvik. "The country is hard to live in, just trying to survive. People get drunk and wander off and die of hypothermia. They fall through the ice. There's a lot of tragedy in their lives." One Mitta woman told me that her brother and sister had both died alcohol-related deaths; and that her father and several relatives had sexually abused her from the age of 15 to 17. "It's just you through hell," she said. However, she has managed to get on with her life—she is married and a college graduate.

The social workers and educators in town tell of culture shock—of native people thrust abruptly into the space age and paying the price

excessively of old assessments like berry-picking and dilly-dilly and now seen like watching evergreen videos. In some places the old ways are still evident. One day I travelled the ice road, a slick, winter-city pavement on the frozen Mackenzie river. One hour later I took a road with scrubby bushes and quickly black spaces—and speed limit signs. The Richardson Mountains gleamed in the distance. The buzz of snowmobiles surrounded the coast of a town. Inuvik, a largely native settlement on the delta's west side, is a modest collection of wooden houses, prone to erosion and flooding. Inuvik was designed to replace it, but many residents simply refused to leave. "This was supposed to be a ghost town," recalled Dorothy McLeod, a 39-year-old Inuit. "But it's such a good place for hunting and trapping and fishing—you can shoot lots of the food. In Inuvik, you live out of the stores."

Maybe I was just seeing an hopeful sign, or maybe the many whites, I tried to understand natives and their vibrant lives in the land. But later, when I thought of Inuvik, I thought also of the Newfoundland fishermen, clinging to a dwelling life in the boats, and of the French Canadians, fighting to preserve their language and culture—and I thought how they would have understood Dorothy McLeod, trying to hold on to the old ways.

Canadians share a collective guilt over the plight of the natives, but they take no obvious delight in their treatment of other minorities. To an American, Canada's muted racialist tendencies in the Quebec referendum, simply a foreign concept. It is also an attractive one, although the gay-bias theory and practice is sometimes hard to ignore.

What is happening in Vancouver is a case in point. The trouble in Canada's Pacific coastal metropolis—home to the largest Chinatown in North America—has been Hong Kong, which will become part of mainland China in 1997. The newcomers have come on hard and have helped to drive up housing prices beyond the range of many Vancouverites, sucking off a demand on entire blocks. Never mind that the overwhelming majority of new British Columbians come not from Hong Kong but from such

foreign locales as Alberta and Ontario—public perceptions has become an issue. "There's always an element of anxiety about change," said Mayor Gordon Campbell. "But with a certain poise, there's clearly an element of racism as well."

Vancouver is undergoing a kind of liberation test—not one that, to some insiders, has at the very core of it a measure to be Chinese. "I think Canada is developing new languages," said Beifield Wong, program coordinator of the Chinese Cultural Centre at Vancouver's Chinatown. "We're more receptive to new ideas—Canada's culture is multiculturalism." In his gift shop down the street, however, Harry Chan

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On Trésor St., Quebec City: there are differences over nationalism and language, but hockey is a great unifier

expressed some doubts. The national president of Chinese Freemasons in Canada, Guo, said: "I'm not sure that multiculturalism keeps Canadians too tied to their old countries. Everybody wants money here," he said. "I believe, China. What ever happens over there, people will come to help. But if the government here wants to raise taxes, we give them hell. So who loves Canada?"

Dwight Chase plainly does. Chase emigrated from Hong Kong in 1974 and now, at 38, he is a successful Vancouver real estate broker who understands the city's attraction to foreigners—the Asian and Caucasian, the solid clients, the patently last-luck Monte-

real estate, may not add up to a coherent whole but certainly make a pretty picture. Canada is not the United States—that much is absolutely clear, even if Arctic dwellers can watch Detroit news on television—and its regional separatism is one of its most telling traits. Travel anywhere outside of Ontario, it seems, and ever and over people say, in Vancouver's Mayor Campbell did "We're very proud to be Canadians. But there is a strong sense that the central government does not recognize we're here." Americans say nasty things about Washington, too, but when their government

launches an invasion of Canada, they swiftly retreat.

In general, Canadians also strike me as more outward-looking than Americans. They didn't, after all, grow up being told that they already live in the greatest country on earth. "Americans are like TV evangelists," maintained Roger Bell, an Indiana native who is now the Newfoundland-based Atlantic field producer for CBC's *Sunday Morning* show. "They really believe there is the best way and everyone else should follow. Canadians aren't nearly so arrogant." They do, however, take a palpable pride in place, with a decided prejudice toward the south, friendly and relaxed. "I wouldn't live in the States, or in Toronto or Montreal," said Richard Sherry, a high-school principal from Upper Gullies, Nfld. "You couldn't pay me enough." I have heard harsher people say the same about Newfoundland—and Alaska people say the same about Alaska.

I only wish Canadians would say it louder, that they would boogie—with the kind of ebullience I saw at the Calgary Olympics last year—of a nation vast, varied, active, healthy, safe, law-enforced and admirably apportioned. I wish they would make an even more of me about it, one with endless glaciers and dazzling mountains and heroic characters half-bred on, say, bialys and a railroad close to the Pacific. I wish they would brag about the CBC and nature of health insurance, too, and I wish, if they really want to fling the racist-and-theoist around, that they would stop casting that obnoxious line of perceptive plotting (very sexist and polar bears and saying simply, "Canada." But then if an idiot I usually very much like in America, only a Canadian can really say it all up. As Montreal lawyer Morinaka put it, "Pure country, eh?"

Grain elevators at Rosetown, Sask.: family regional



Canada continues to defy easy definition. I have counted and measured time zones, mapped carbon and cod's impact and gathered a startling variety of startling images that, like the country

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GOVERNMENT

SHAPING THE FUTURE

THE CHARTER OF RIGHTS HELPED TO BRING CANADA MUCH CLOSER TO A U.S. STYLE OF GOVERNMENT

It is a sight that always startsles new visitors to the newly Canada Parliament Buildings. Every weekday, when the House of Commons is in session, opposition MPs pepper the Prime Minister with his cabinet members with pointed, often tart, questions. These are urgent matters, requests for information, votes of confidence, along with carefully phrased insults and name-calling. These raucous sessions underline the differences between the U.S. system of government, where the executive is separate from the legislature, and the Canadian system of government, where the executive must maintain its majority—and its nerve—in the legislature as well as in power. But the gulf between the two systems is narrowing: throughout the 1980s, the Canadian system has been edging away from its British parliamentary roots toward the U.S. style of government.

Born at different times to serve different needs, the American and the Canadian systems were once radically different. Adopted in 1789, after a violent revolution against George III's England, the U.S. system checked the supremacy of its legislators, vigorously reserving the powers of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. In contrast, the Canadian system—designed under the leadership of John A. Macdonald in 1867 to create a confederation of provinces—assured the supremacy of Parliament over the executive and the judiciary. But many political scientists contend that Canada moved toward the U.S. system with the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which altered the judiciary to limit the legislature's powers. As well, experts cite the Senate's increasing ineffectiveness, con-

spired with the recent call for an elected Senate.

As further proof of the growing similarities, there is the clear move toward U.S.-style political technology and the emergence of powerful legislative committees that divide party discipline. Declared Thomas Courchesne, director of the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.: "At some point, we will be effectively closer to the Americans than we were to the old British tradition."

The recent popular push for a Triple E (Elected, Equal and Effective) Senate is perhaps the strongest indication of change. At first glance, the proposal is an alluring way to restore an antiquated institution. Indeed, according to a March Gallup poll, 55 per cent of Canadians favor an elected Senate. The new Senate would replace the current 104-seat body, with its membership of government patronage appointees. It would substitute an elected Upper House, similar to the U.S. Senate, composed of equal numbers of representatives from each province, with effective powers to amend governmental legislation.

Under the proposed reforms, the Prime Minister and the cabinet would have to satisfy the objections of both sets and senators, sensitive to provincial interests, in order to have their legislation passed—no *la loi White House* has to do with the Congress.

But the Triple E Senate proposal is also a reminder of the extreme differences that remain between the two forms of government. The U.S. model separates the executive, the President and the cabinet from the elected legislature, the 435-member House of Representatives and the 100-member Senate. If the Congress is dominated by a different party from the President's, as is currently the case, it can be difficult for him to win approval for his legislative program. Former Canadian ambassador to Washington Allan Goshen once said that there were really "two executive powers in the United States—the administration on the one hand, the bureau of Congress on the other." He added, "Ignore this and accomplish nothing."

In contrast, in Canada, the executive is an integral part of one house of the legislature, the Commons. Although the Senate can defeat Commons legislation, the government does not fall when it loses a vote in the Senate—it merely has to wait for the next session of Parliament to re-introduce the bill. In any event, the Senate rarely rejects gov-

ernment legislation. It last defeated a Commons bill on April 20, 1909.

Many political theorists contend that an elected Senate simply could not fit within the structure of a parliamentary government. Other theorists contend that a reformed Senate could work—U.S. Canada underwent an extensive constitutional overhaul. Those who oppose such a change have to resolve the issue of what happens to a government's

sanctity if the Triple E Senate defeats its legislation. Said Peter Hogg, a professor at Toronto's Osgoode Hall law school: "I am not sure even that we can envision the Triple E Senate. You cannot really have an elected Senate that is fully effective because that would either create impossible tensions between the Senate and the House of Commons or it would cause a real shift to an American style of congressional government."

"The trend toward a more U.S. style government probably began in 1982 when Debelen brought home the Constitution from Britain with a Charter of Rights and an amending formula. Charter rights were entrenched, and it was left to the judiciary to define those rights—such as U.S. courts now interpret the Constitution with its Bill of Rights. Parliament and provincial legislatures could not persuasively override those rights—although the courts were 'notwithstanding' clause allowed governments to pass laws, which limited after five years unless revised, that overrode the democratic, legal or equality rights. Said University of Toronto law professor Albert Berman: "The Charter has turned the Supreme Court into a more effective centre of power than the executive and the legislative branch of the government. In that sense, there is no doubt that we have been moving in the American direction."

There is also a growing tendency in the Senate—to imitate actions of its powerful U.S. counterpart. In 1987, the Senate delayed the passage of a bill to extend the sunset monopoly of brand-name prescription drugs, although

the executive and the legislative branch of the government. In that sense, there is no doubt that we have been moving in the American direction."

At the same time, Canadian political organizations are increasingly adopting U.S. election techniques in such areas as the power of the leaders' tours, political advertising, polling and the packaging of issues. In last year's election, for one, both U.S. and Canadian campaigns employed no-polls instead of door-to-door canvassing. Instead of locking the personal ethics and motives of their opponents, they simply scripted their campaigns, controlling the leaders' appearances and political messages, and relying heavily on polling data to formulate their platforms.

Indeed, Canadian political organizers mirrored U.S. conventions. Bobo Simon, New Democratic Party's deputy campaign director in the 1988 federal election, said that these slick techniques are bridling Canada's electioneering. "It's a sign of a thorough discussion of the issues. There should be ways of synthesizing policy options as choices in ways that are more than sloganizing," he said. "In the United States, you can look at our last campaign and conclude that there was a tremendous benefit conferred upon a party that had the capacity to deliver a carefully crafted message."

Finally, there is a growing likelihood that backbench MPs may become more independent, more inclined to resist the strict application of party discipline. Courchesne speculated that MPs may simply rebel when they realize that they no longer desire party discipline, the cabinet and the 10 provincial premiers have largely usurped Parliament's policy-making functions. As a harbinger of that trend, Courchesne cites the independent-minded Conservative led by Conservative MP Donald Sinclair, which frequently embarrassed the Conservative government throughout its 1984-88 term (page 66).

These dramatic changes are already altering the face of the government. But unless the Triple E Senate is adopted, the shifts will not likely condense the most fundamental differences between the two systems. That is a factor that Canadians will no doubt keep in mind as they contemplate taking another step away from parliamentary traditions.

MARY ANGEAN



U.S. Capitol (above): Sen. John A. Macdonald keeping up traditions

TELLING STATISTICS

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
Percentages of incumbent federal legislators who were reelected in the last campaign	79.8	93.8
Average cost of individual effective campaigns for federal legislators	\$29,512	Senate: \$2 million House: \$207,866
Maximum amount that could be spent by a candidate in the last federal election campaign	Calling various parties (in 1988, highest was York North, Ont., at \$65,238)	No limit (but ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1976)

GOVERNMENT

MEN OF CREDENTIALS

NEW AMBASSADORS TAKE UP THEIR POSTS

Edward Ney is a 64-year-old American ad-man who wears the endowments of a multimillionaire: \$2,000 suits from the Park Avenue store of an exclusive London tailor and a favorite subject among New York City's society columnists. Derek Barney is 49, a successful producer of the Canadian federal bureaucracy who has modestly priced derivatives suits off the rack and is trying to lose weight. Compared from St. Louis, they topped his 40-year advertising career by becoming chairman of Young and Rubicam Inc., the world's largest independent agency. Barney, a native of Thunder Bay, Ont., and a career foreign-service officer for 20 years, became Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's chief of staff in March 1987. Now, as ambassadors to each other's countries, Ney and Barney will bring sharply different backgrounds and styles to the task of protecting their national interests in the uncertain area of Canada-U.S. free trade.

Both Ney and Barney are close personal friends of their leaders. Ney dated George Bush's presidential campaign last fall with a series of changing television commercials directed at his Democratic opponent, Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis. But Barney, former chairman of Johnson & Johnson, the manufacturer of health care products and a key figure in Ambassador's office, is often asked because of how close many they give to the party. May was picked for his talent and his experience. "Barney was even closer to the right of power. As Mulroney's chief of staff he was widely credited with the successful Conservative formula that led to victory in the federal election last Nov. 30," said a senior Tory adviser. "Mulroney needed a last party in Washington, someone whom judgment he could trust and someone he had a strong tie."

The settlement of disputes arising from the



Barney (left), Ney, a monarchist and an ad executive will guide the special relationship

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement will likely dominate the tenures of both Ney and Barney, who replaces Thomas Niles, a low-key professional with a muted profile in Ottawa, will be very much Bush's personal envoy to Canada. As he told *Maclean's*, "I know the President well, I know his policies and I think he has a fine relationship with the Prime Minister, so I would hope to continue that."

According to friends, Ney is sensitive to the prospect of job losses and plant closures in Canada, which some economists and union leaders in both countries predict will result from the FTA. "People feel that both countries will get a great deal out of the FTA," said Barney. "But because to me people who get laid off in the process, you need someone who understands." Added Richard Munro, the chairman and chief executive officer of *Forbes* Inc., who knows the ambassador well: "Canada is going through difficult times after the FTA. Edward Ney has the native intelligence and the sensitivity

that qualifies him for the job." Barney, a graduate of Queen's University with a master's in political science, is an expert on the FTA he and then-U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker resolved the eleven-hour problems that threatened to derail the trade deal last week. Said Barney of his new role: "I will not be the architect of the grand plan but the house manager."

However, he will manage the house differently from his high-profile predecessor. In a pointed reference to Allan Gotlibow and his wife, Sandra, Barney said that he would not be actively visiting the society columns of *The Washington Post*. In a strategy that Sandra called "putting to rest," the Gotlibows led a brood of social life as an attempt to get across for Canada. Declared Barney: "The Gotlibows did things with a different cast, reflecting the spirit of the Reagan administration and the spirit of Washington during that time."

He has already navigated Canada Center,

the former social secretary who became news when she was kidnapped by Sandra Gotlibow during a social luncheon. And he says that he will not down on large, lavish parties at the ambassador's residence, reflecting instead the lobby style of George and Barbara Bush by entertaining smaller, special-interest groups. Barney says that he and his wife, Joan, will make good use of the recently opened, critically acclaimed new Canadian Embassy on Washington's center-stage Pennsylvania Avenue. "The embassy gives a whole new vehicle for articulating Canada to Americans," said Barney. "It will make use of the facility in a way that I think best reflects how the town is functioning under this administration."

Ney and his second wife, Judith, have embassy challenges of their own in Ottawa. His first task will be to try to reverse the controversial decision by Ottawa's National Capital Commission in 1986 to relocate the building from downtown Wellington Street, opposite the capitol Parliament Buildings, to a site in east Ottawa. Mulroney's has learned that Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York—who played a role in getting Canada to choose embassy site in Washington—threatened the state department that he would help block any bill authorizing the move in Congress. Washington has recently applied to External Affairs for permission to use an adjacent parking lot for a \$30-million addition to the existing embassy rather than move. "If we do not get permission, it would look petty and mean as an incident in our bilateral relations," said one U.S. official, who asked that his name be withheld.

As ambassador, Ney will likely draw on his broad experience in advertising. In particular, his knowledge of communications and negotiating will be useful in forthcoming FTA discussions, including those on how to define the meaning and use of government subsidies to provide industries. Said Barney: "The world is starting to understand the huge range of issues, communications on everything in the world. It is comfortable with that and can add a lot."

Ney, a graduate of Amherst College in Massachusetts with a BA in history, has also demonstrated a willingness to make unpopular decisions. In 1976 he was the first Canadian to make a massive reorganization of Young and Rubicam Inc., leaving the New York staff from 1,645 to 1,200. In 1984, he again stressed new structures when he helped a small venture between Young and Rubicam and Pace Rieber Inc. to operate as mergers and acquisitions. Last year—a recognition of his work at Young and Rubicam—He was inducted into the Advertising Hall of Fame, the American advertising industry's top honor.

Now, the buzz of Madison Avenue and the steady rise of the industry have begun new careers in international diplomacy. Their success will be measured by how well they meet the leeches between two nations challenged by the stresses of free trade.

ELIZABETH MCKENZIE is in Washington



Phil Crutcher: a crowbar in the office and a bull's head over the fireplace

TEST OF WILLS

FREE TRADE'S TAXING DETAILS

He keeps a bull's head over his fireplace. She keeps a crowbar in her office. For those determinations and toughness, communications on everything in the world, Ed is comfortable with that and can add a lot."

Ney, a graduate of Amherst College in Massachusetts with a BA in history, has also demonstrated a willingness to make unpopular decisions. In 1976 he was the first Canadian to make a massive reorganization of Young and Rubicam Inc., leaving the New York staff from 1,645 to 1,200. In 1984, he again stressed new structures when he helped a small venture between Young and Rubicam and Pace Rieber Inc. to operate as mergers and acquisitions. Last year—a recognition of his work at Young and Rubicam—He was inducted into the Advertising Hall of Fame, the American advertising industry's top honor.

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language disputes Canada's refusal to allow imports of live-grade U.S. plywood because of claims of worklessness caused by its large levels, and differences in how the two countries measure the amount of wood in garments for tariff purposes. At the same time, U.S. steel producers have been pressing Washington to assist a voluntary restraint program for steel imports from Canada. In both cases, as both countries have also submitted hundreds of requests to speed up tariff reductions and extend the second into new areas of products.

Crutcher, 68, is a traditional supporter of free trade. The signs of use of Newfoundland's weathered lumber, which made its fortune in construction, utilities and fish, he has favored closer economic ties with the United States since he was a teenager in St. John's. In 1948, his father, Chesley Crutcher, opposed Newfoundland's decision to join Canada—about 150 years as a British colony—campaigning instead for economic union with the United States. And among the major contributors in the 1983 Tory leadership race, John Crutcher was alone in urging Canadians to embrace free trade. His rivals, including Brian Mulroney, rejected the proposal, in a grave

threat to Canadian sovereignty. Prime Minister Mulroney later changed his mind and opened talks with Washington in 1985.

For Crohrie, the trade portfolio may be an opportunity to create a political legacy. As finance minister in 1979, Crohrie introduced an unpopular budget that led to the Tories' defeat after nine months in office. Four years later, he lost the race for the Tory leadership. And, although cabinet colleagues say that he has the same right mind as Mulroney's inner circle, outside he is better known for his asseverant humor. Crohrie is also still smarting from the controversy he created last year when he acknowledged that he had not read the entire 365-page FTA text. He made the rounds at a time when the Tories were spending millions on a public relations campaign de-

worth and what the value of hard work is."

In Washington, Crohrie will deal with a woman generally known as a "very lively lady" who also gives out details of agreements and then sticks to the text when she is negotiating. Hills, 68, has a very keen sense of U.S. interests and she argues for them forcefully. As she told associates at her confirmation hearings earlier this year, "We have to have our agreements enforced. And where our partners are violating our agreements, we must take action—with a crowbar if necessary." The Senate confirmed her appointment unanimously after she demonstrated her clear knowledge of major world trade issues.

Growing up in Los Angeles, Hills was a tomboy, nicknamed Buddy. When she was 12, she decided that she wanted to be a lawyer. But

tion of President Gerald Ruff, who in 1975 appointed her secretary of housing and urban development, stating that only the third woman to hold a U.S. cabinet post. Crohrie claimed that Hills knew very little about housing.

Officials who have worked with Hills since she became trade representative last January say that she is an intense, demanding woman who is sensitive to media criticism. Said one: "She likes to win." But they add that she treats her employees fairly and is capable of great charm. She routinely begins work at 7 a.m. and ends the day with a round of functions late in the evening. Said one official who knows her well but asked not to be identified: "It is not all work, she is not a dull girl. She is tough-minded but she is a very funmate."

Growing up in Los Angeles, Hills was a tomboy, nicknamed Buddy. When she was 12, she decided that she wanted to be a lawyer. But



On the Canadian trade agenda

- To speed up the removal of tariffs on a wide range of manufactured goods and raw materials
- To persuade offshore investors—principally Japanese and West Germans—to build manufacturing plants in Canada. The attraction: access to the U.S. market under the FTA
- To defend the American argument that some U.S. government assistance programs—such as rail transportation subsidies—give Canada an unfair advantage in the U.S. market
- To motivate Canadian companies by such means as federally sponsored seminars to become more aggressive in pursuing U.S. opportunities



On the American trade agenda

- To press for greater access to the \$400-million Canadian pipeline market
- To negotiate on behalf of American television programmers who object to Ottawa's domestic-content requirements for Canadian TV stations
- To resolve controversies over steel: the U.S. steel industry objects to the volume of cheaper imports from Canada's more efficient plants
- To gain freer access to Canada's natural resources—energy, metals, water and timber



signed to offset criticism that they were desperate for a deal.

Crohrie now says that he cannot understand why many Canadian outsiders fought so hard to defeat the bill in last year's election. He says in campaign: "I have not met a single person [in] the U.S. who thought we would have been completely mentally obligated to vote against the Free Trade Agreement," he said. "It has nothing to do with whether you like Americans. I would support a free trade agreement with the deal that appeared to be a good thing." But the minister clearly admires the free enterprise ethic that fuels the U.S. economy. Said Crohrie: "In many parts of the United States, they have a very highly developed sense of their own

they later, who had turned a suitcase job into a multimillion-dollar building supplies business, wanted her eventually to participate in the family firm. Although he tried to discourage her, refusing to pay her tuition when she attended Yale law school, she persisted.

Hills, who has four grown children, became involved in government work almost inadvertently. In 1973, then-Deputy Secretary Elliot Richardson sent to Los Angeles to ask Hills's husband, Richard, a merchant banker, to become an assistant secretary of defense in Washington. He refused, but Richardson was impressed with Carla Hills, and later in the year, after becoming attorney general, he offered her a job as an assistant attorney general. She accepted, and quickly came to the atten-

Crohrie and Hills first met during President George Bush's brief visit to Ottawa in February. A month later, Crohrie visited Washington for the first of what both sides said would likely prove to be more than a half-dozen meetings, alternating between the two capitals. Observed one Canadian diplomat in Washington who attended the meeting: "You had a shrewd and highly able politician from the U.S. who was facing a highly skilled and able cabinet secretary who at it was a politician." Their discussions will almost certainly decide the fate of Canada-U.S. trade relations well into the 21st century.

MART NEMETH with BOB LAYNE in Ottawa and ISABEL WICKHAM in Washington

Rub shoulders with Royalty.



BUSINESS

FREE TRADE'S SELLING POINTS

**EXPERTS
ARE CASHING IN
BY ADVISING
CLIENTS ON HOW
THE DEAL
REALLY WORKS**

In the post Crystal Gateway Marriott Hotel in Arlington, Va., across the Potomac River from Washington, 126 Americans were getting a crash course on doing business north of the border in the climate created by the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Sponsored by the Canadian Embassy in Washington and the U.S. Department of Commerce, the seminar of 120—half the 240—was held at the back of the room, leaving businessmen of the FTA, computerized maps of North America and Britannica Canadian year-guy pamphlet nothing but business opportunities. There were also speeches by Canadian and American trade officials explaining the merits of the trade deal, which became his last. Jan. 1, however, as in the case of hundreds of similar meetings in both Canada and the United States, the seminar was mostly composed of sell of business opportunities to cash in on the deal, but of audiences eager to make money by showing them how.

In fact, in the 18 months since Parliament formally approved the FTA, it has launched the 10-year process of gradually eliminating all remaining trade barriers between the two countries—industry's demand for information about how the deal will work has increased sharply. And that has attracted hundreds of accountants, lawyers, trade consultants, career bankers and lobbyists looking for ways to profit by explaining the FTA to clients—and by helping them with their long-term strategic planning. Spokesmen within those professional strata state that there are millions of dollars to be made from free-trade-related services in Canada alone—and that business will rise considerably when the FTA's dispute-

resolution tribunals begin hearing cases. Indeed, Simon Rousseau, chief Canadian trade negotiator of the FTA, has established his own Ottawa-based consulting firm. In Washington, not only Canadian Peter Murphy has also left government to join a trade consulting group. And among his other activities, former



Murphy, from lawyer to trade consultant

Canadian ambassador to Washington Allen Gelfand will be offering his trade expertise to clients of the Toronto law firm Stoltzman, Kroll, Seid, Philip Stetson, a lawyer with Sklar, Cassels & Goydas in Toronto. "Lots of people are trying to grab a piece of the action."

In Canada especially—where the impact of the FTA is much more pronounced—many consulting companies have swiftly acted on the new opportunities. The venerable Canadian accounting and consulting firm Chartered, Gordon & Woods, for instance, has 40 partners and staff working on free-trade-related assignments across the country. The consultants, who deal with issues of marketing and long-

term operations planning, have completed work for more than 100 clients in Canada during the past few years.

Chartered is also giving new business through its quarterly newsletter, Canada's Five Trade Agreement, which has grown to a circulation of 45,000 from 30,000 in the past year. Recent issues of the newsletter included case studies on how Chartered had solved free-trade-related problems for its clients. In one, Chartered showed a U.S. company that it would be more profitable to keep its Canadian branch plant operating rather than closing it and increasing production at home for export into the Canadian market. At last glance, the company had concluded that the lowering of tariffs would enable it to save money if it manufactured all of its products in the United States. But taking into consideration freight costs and higher U.S. packaging costs, Chartered demonstrated that it was more cost-effective to keep the Canadian subsidiary running.

For its part, Toronto-based accounting firm Deloitte Haskins & Sells has designated 12 people to work almost full time on free trade issues—management consultants, tax specialists and financial advisors. Said George Bedard, national co-ordinator of Deloitte's free trade business: "Free trade is an entire field for us into a company's entire strategic planning. It is called getting into the 'work'." According to some experts, Canadian subsidiaries of U.S. companies are concerned that the FTA may result in their being shut down by their parents. Some believe that Deloitte partners have proposed schemes to change the subsidiary into a specialized, licensing factory layout, research, development and volume. "One of the things we are bringing to clients is a way to differentiate profitability and use the favorable Canadian exchange rate to become more competitive," said Bedard.

At the same time, professional lobbyists and consultants are rushing to offer their services to law firms. Recently established the Ontario-based Trade & Investment Advisory Group, a consulting company that is associated with the Toronto legal firm Smith Lyons Torrance Stoltzman & Myers.

Rousseau told Murphy that most of his work so far has been related to explaining the FTA to clients. And although few have yet registered help with long-term planning, Rousseau said that at a number of law before clients turn their attention to the future. Declared Rousseau: "It is a whole new ball game out there. The main impact of free trade will be made through planning. That is the next step most companies have the new rules under their belts."

Meanwhile, Gordon, Kroll, Stoltzman's free-trade dispute trade negotiator, who reported the consulting field full of a lot of the pattern in the newly established State pro-



U.S.-Canada free trade conference at Niagara Falls, Ont.: 'Lots of people are trying to grab a piece of the action'

ice, a business consulting firm. Among Stoltzman's policy advisers are former Liberal cabinet minister Mitchell Sharp and William Tushnet, former deputy minister of regional industrial expansion. With Bedard's intimate knowledge of the FTA and his contacts with trade officials, Stoltzman can offer a wide range of services. But Bedard said that his firm does not lobby senior officials on behalf of clients or advise businesses on public policy issues. Said Bedard: "We offer a comfort factor. Between us we have a total of 200 years of experience at senior ministerial levels."

As well, lawyers in both Canada and the United States are heavily involved in sponsoring the hundreds of free trade seminars now being offered as an attempt to attract new business. Toronto-based Orlin Rodin & Howard, for one, has aggressively pursued free trade clients by assigning 20 of its 240 lawyers to offer free trade-related expertise. The firm targeted U.S. clients by conducting several seminars on business integration and investment in Canada. Said Jack Gossard, a partner at Orlin: "The reason we did it in the United States was that people were interested, but the level of knowledge was considerably lower than that of Canadian businessmen."

Stoltzman Elliott, one of Canada's big-blue-ribbon law firms, is providing its high-profile members—including Gelfand and former Liberal finance minister Mark Laidlaw. And many experts say that lawyers aim to make the largest financial gains from free-trade-related business in the long term. For one thing, they point out that when the FTA's dispute-settlement tribunals regularly begin to settle trade

disputes, companies will be employing hundreds of lawyers to plead cases. As well, under the deal, companies had three months to apply for an accelerated reduction of tariffs that affected their products. In the United States alone were 200 submissions, at a cost of up to \$25,000 each and covering more than 2,900 products, while in Canada there were 235 submissions at generally lower cost.

In relative terms, the FTA has had less impact in the United States. One Washington insider who has taken advantage of the new agreement is former FTA negotiator Murphy. As vice-president for international affairs for the international trade dream of Canada and Associates, Murphy will be soliciting business in both countries and expects about as equal number of clients north and south of the border. "If the FTA is so good, it must work for both sides," said Murphy. "If it doesn't work for one side, the other will put the plug. My own priority is to try and ensure that the agreement is carried out."

Another to benefit from the deal is former U.S. trade representative William Markey, who was also closely involved in the FTA negotiations and who is now working on trade issues with the law firm Winkler, Ross, Carson & Thelen. He says that while some law firms and management consultants are adding trade reports to their staff, he does not expect to see them create Canada-U.S. free trade divisions as is happening in Canada. Said Markey: "In trying to market the case, it is much easier to get attention in Canada."

Not some high-profile trade lawyers have emerged and will continue to be closely

watched by Canadian exporters. Perhaps the most powerful is Alan Wolf, a former deputy U.S. trade representative now with Washington's Dewing, Ballentine, Bushby, Palmer and Wood. After his firm led the battle for access to the Canadian plywood market, he represented American stakeholders in their continuing effort to extend voluntary restraint agreements with countries that they are heavily dependent on their steel industries. Last October, then-vice-president George Bush announced a voluntary restraint agreement with 19 countries, not including Canada, after an intensive campaign by the steel industry that included a 680-page book, a color slide show, extensive congressional lobbying and the proposition of more than 200 unfair trade complaints against foreign suppliers, some of them Canadian.

Wolf says that business will grow only after the FTA and has been in place for some years and major disputes begin to be dealt with. Said Wolf: "The agreement is like a bubble: when the food market is in demand and possibly trip over it. [The deal's] been a cause of a vast change." Still, within past few months, the U.S. Department of Commerce has received 7,000 inquiries about the deal, mostly from small businesses. And in the next three months, the department expects to host 5,000 businessmen in free trade seminars. It is that sort of interest that will keep the new free trade millennium busy—and successful.

THELMA TERESCHI with ANN ROULINLEY in Toronto and JULY MACDONALD in Washington

BUSINESS

CONTINENTAL DESTINY

AMERICAN AND
CANADIAN FIRMS
DRAFT NEW
STRATEGIES
TO DEAL WITH
FREE TRADE

designing strategies to take advantage of the FTA, in both Canada and the United States, where businessmen tend to regard the accord as part of the overall globalization of trade and investment, the most forward-looking managers already have their ducks in a row and are busily executing the plan. By 1993, all tariffs between the two countries will be phased out, and although the agreement is only six months old, it is already evident that a new market order is taking shape.

For one thing, although trade between the two countries already exceeds \$180 billion annually—with Canada enjoying a trade surplus of \$12.6 billion in 1988—senior executives across the country predict that the FTA will put new pressures on domestic companies to export even more to the \$3.9-trillion U.S. market. Robert McLean, a partner with the management consulting firm Woods Gordon in Toronto, said that research conducted by his firm revealed that only 30 per cent of Canadian

manufacturers, accounting for 15 per cent of the country's manufacturing output, are currently exporting to the United States and/or other countries. But within just 10 years, at least one-third of Canadian manufacturers who are not currently exporting to the United States will have to do so in order for the Free Trade Agreement to be as beneficial as promised by many business groups.

At the same time, many American businesses who have operated only in the domestic market say that the FTA provides both access to a valuable market of \$116 billion and a first step in the process of becoming globally competitive. And even U.S. politicians already active in both countries are recognizing and consolidating on a North American basis to confront Western Europe when it emerges as a wholly integrated market in 1992. Martinus Zukerman, a Montreal native who owns the

Washington-based newsmagazine *U.S. News & World Report*, the 127-year-old *Atlantic Monthly* magazine and a large real estate company, said that companies that are competitive in one large North American market will improve their chances of survival in the era of global commerce. Said Zukerman, "Nobody has any choice, because it is beyond the ability of any country to control its economic destiny within its own borders."

To thrive under the FTA, many experts say that Canadian companies will have to become as lean in production and efficient as their U.S. counterparts. And Canadian executives acknowledge that they will be forced to adopt American business practices simply because Canada is the smaller and less powerful of the two trading partners. That may mean a greater emphasis on short-term financial performance, a sharp rise in executive salaries, greater

mobility among senior managers and shorter contracts between suppliers and producers. Said Edward Newell, chairman and president of Moosejaw, Ont.-based Du Pont Canada Inc., "Weak businesses die. Give them all the help you can give them and you might add five years to their life."

After extensive interviews with company managers, consultants, lawyers and accountants in both Canada and the United States, a pattern of leading FTA strategies emerged. They include:

Taking stock:

Preparing for new, continent-wide competition, some Canadian and American companies are taking drastic action. In Canada, some are critically reexamining the viability of plants, equipment and manpower in an attempt to become more competitive. And sometimes the results are painful. As part of its free trade

It had all the fire and flamboyance of a typical Peter Nygard production. In mid-January, the chairman of Toronto-based Nygard International Inc., Canada's largest fashion designer, unveiled his fall 1989 collection during a cross-country road show. Nygard flew an entourage of 30 models, choreographers and lighting specialists to Vancouver for a lavish production that included a fashion show, cocktails, a laser display and dancing. A day later, the entire group flew to Montreal for two shows, then back to Nygard's Toronto base for another performance at least as buyers and media. But to be presented as his first line of elegant, high-priced women's office wear, Nygard was also revealing a critical part of his strategy for survival under the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. With tariffs eliminated on clothing, he plans to manufacture his new line of quality garments using expensive equipment and skilled labor in Canada, for sale in both countries. At the same time, he plans to shift production of his medium-priced, casual clothing to Los Angeles and ship the finished product to Canada. Said Nygard, "Because of the globalization of the world economy, free trade is just another step toward specialization and [focusing] your action."

Nygard is one of many company leaders

Nygard, Toronto skyline: bold plans



Total of Canada exports to the United States: \$100 billion
Of America exports to Canada: \$66.4 billion

Amount of direct Canadian investment in the United States: \$43.3 billion
Of direct American investment in Canada: \$75.3 billion

Exports as a share of GNP in Canada: 28.2%
As a share of GNP in the United States: 1.8%

Ratio of domestic to overseas investment in Canada: 5:1
In the United States: 75.5:1

Per capita GDP in Canada: \$21,244
Per capita GDP in the United States: \$24,126

Average dividend yield of the New 300 index as of Dec. 1989: 3.34%
Average dividend yield of the NYSE composite index as of Dec. 1989: 3.6%

The basic federal corporate income tax rate in Canada: 26%
In the United States: 34%

(GDP monetary comparisons in Canadian dollars.)

TELLING STATISTICS

Total personal income tax per capita in Canada: \$3,238
In the United States: \$3,890

Largest-ever Canadian takeover of an American company:
CompuLink Corp.'s \$2.5-billion takeover of Photodisc International
Durham Inc. in 1988
Largest-ever American takeover of a Canadian company:
The \$5.1-billion purchase of Dome Petroleum Ltd. by American-owned Amoco Canada Petroleum Co. Ltd. in 1987

Average annual salary, with benefits, of a chief executive officer in Canada: \$230,400
In the United States: \$200,800

Rent for prime office space per square foot in Toronto: \$41
In New York City: \$47

Average price of a house in 1989 in Canada: \$134,761
In the United States: \$105,408

Net worth in Canada: K. C. Irving, with assets of \$16 billion
In the United States: Sam Walton, with assets of \$8 billion

CANADIAN COMPANIES MAY HAVE TO ADOPT U.S. BUSINESS PRACTICES

strategy. Montreal-based Dominion Textile Inc., Canada's largest textile manufacturer, is in the process of eliminating its less profitable lines, spending \$15 million to upgrade two Quebec plants and eliminating 270 jobs (page 70).

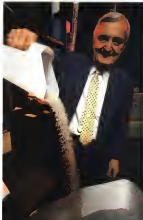
At the same time, Du Pont Canada Inc. will spend an average \$150 million annually until 1991 upgrading its Canadian plants, compared with \$50 million yearly in the previous three years. Newell said that Du Pont will increase its capital spending because exports to the United States should more than double to \$500 million by 1990 due to tariff reductions.

For Wyand, the advent of free trade has created a need to develop new product lines and shift some production from Canada to the United States. He is now producing some of his labor-intensive casual women's clothing in Los Angeles, where industry wages are much lower than in Canada. On the other hand, he is a manufacturer of men's underwear, which requires fewer employees and more expensive machinery, in Canada, and even without tariff protection he can compete against similar American products.

Getting ready for free trade also requires special planning on the part of U.S. manufacturing firms with Canadian subsidiaries. Companies such as the giant Cincinnati-based Procter & Gamble, which has four plants in Canada, have begun discussing with the governments that treat both countries as one. And Achim Wenzel, the Saskatchewan-born chairman of Pette Corp., a Cleveland-based Pette 500 company with annual sales exceeding \$1.2 billion, declared: "Now that free trade is here, everybody is saying, 'How do we use our Canadian resources to fit into the big market, which is here in the United States?'"

A manufacturer of specialty materials for industry—including metal coatings for cookware and powder coatings for auto parts and appliances—Pette Corp. is now developing a new site for its three Canadian branch plants. Previously, those plants served only the local

diversified domestic market. With the FTA, Wenzel says that they will handle short production runs and ship to any region where they have a geographic advantage. The American plants, which were designed to serve the huge U.S. market, will continue to be high-volume facilities.



Potter: a new role for U.S. branch plants in Canada

Indeed, while Canadian nationalists have argued that branch plants would be doomed by the removal of tariff protection because their products could be produced more cheaply in the United States, executives such as Potter and De Pott's Newell insist that similar Canadian factories will be strategically critical. They cite a huge, rich industry that supports a vast variety of specialized products—those that meet high-volume American plants have no interest in turning out. As Newell put it: "To survive in Canada, we're had to learn how to be very good at doing small things efficiently. Business opportunities that we find exciting."

American businessmen look at and say, 'Well, that damned thing is too small to be bothered with.'"

Finding a niche:

One strategy recommended by senior executives and management consultants is devoted primarily to Canadian niche firms that market a geographical niche willing to be served in the United States. David Rice, president and chief executive officer of Toronto-based Oak Industries Ltd., the world's largest manufacturer of flight simulators used to train commercial pilots, said that Canadian companies should use their domestic strengths as a springboard into the U.S. market. He added, "Don't try to manufacture fishing rods, because anybody can manufacture fishing rods."

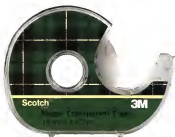
Finding such a niche may require major expenditures on research and development—but some of the resulting products may be inexpensive and uncomplicated. Scientists at Du Pont Canada have developed a plastic tray for frozen prepared dinners that can be used in either conventional or microwave ovens. The Pat began work on the plastic tray in response to food company complaints that existing holders scattered an unpleasant odor when used in microwave ovens. Newell says that North American sales of the tray will likely generate \$20 million annually of the company's \$1.2-billion yearly revenues.

For other Canadian companies, the U.S. market has produced even more aggressive sales. Frederick Mitchell, president and chief executive officer of Saskatoon-based International Packers Ltd., Canada's fourth-largest meat processor with annual sales of about \$450 million, said that his company began selling gourmet meats to southern California supermarkets in 1985 through a Los Angeles-based subsidiary. By concentrating on a single geographical area with a narrow product line made up of fresh pork, cold ham, roast lamb and bacon, the company has achieved annual sales of \$60 million and created 230 new jobs.

Controlling costs:

With the FTA, manufacturing decisions increasingly will be based on internal costs and efficiency rather than on the external costs of government-imposed trade barriers. In fact, there are already signs of that happening. Joseph Benness, a divisional president of Reynolds & Reynolds Co., a Fortne 500 firm based in Dayton, Ohio, and that in the past no Canadian division has operated autonomously and transferred divisional sales have been because of tariff barriers. Reynolds & Reynolds, a major supplier of computer software programs and business forms to electronic desktops, operates 11 sales-and-service depots in Canada, as well as a Toronto printing plant. Under the FTA, the company's Toronto printing plant may now be able to fill orders in

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upper New York state and other border states.

Increasing where it makes sense: Canadian new risk is only the fourth-largest foreign concern in the United States, while Americans are the largest in Canada. While experts say it is too early to predict where investment dollars will flow in the near future, they say that the FTA may reduce the overall trend of the past decade—a slowing down of American acquisitions in Canada along with increasing Canadian activity in the United States. Indeed, American companies, no longer forced by tariff barriers to invest in Canada, are already shifting their investments. Shirley Carr, president of the Ottawa-based Canadian Labour Congress says that her organization has counted at least 35 American and Canadian companies, including Toronto-based Ingersoll Rand Appliances Ltd. and Montreal-based Galtel Canada Inc., which have moved production from Canada to the United States or Mexico since the federal election on Nov. 21. Calling it a "continuous flooding of Canadian jobs into the United States, thanks to free trade," Carr said that the companies were moving production and job seats of the border in order to take advantage of lower operating costs and wages.

At the same time, some Canadian companies will actually be able to invest more domestically because tariffs will no longer force them to locate south of the border. That is the case with Fishery Products International Ltd., a St. John's, Nfld., company with annual sales of \$480 million and 5,600 employees, which operates two fish processing plants in the Boston area. Company president Victor Young said that the plants, which employ 380 people, produce dozens of different fish products sold to restaurants and supermarkets in the United States. He added that his company had to build the processing plants in the United States because American tariffs on processed fish were much higher than on raw fish. Now, he said, the company will build any new



Mitchell: careful marketing can lead to sales gains

processing plants where it makes the most sense economically—in Newfoundland.

Buying Canadian firms

The FTA has led some American companies to buy Canadian firms in order to serve U.S. markets. Ferro Corp., which has had Canadian subsidiaries since 1957, bought a Peoria, Ill.-based company called Canadian Plastics Coconerite Ltd. in mid-1988. The company produces plastic compounds used in the manufacturing of a broad range of appliances and consumer products. But Ponsch added that the

company was also likely to intend to supply the auto industry in Michigan and will now begin its production on that market. Soil Products "We would not have bought that facility if free trade was not being discussed."

For its part, Worthington Industries Inc., a Columbus, Ohio, company with annual sales in excess of \$1.5 billion and earnings of \$67 million, bought a Grapah, Ont., firm called Metal Flow of Canada Ltd. Sales manager John Lampronson said that Worthington primarily wanted Metal Flow's manufacturing division to produce large propane tanks. Worthington itself produces a variety of equal, reusable propane tanks—the most common model is a five-gallon tank for gas barbecues. As the tanks on propane stoves, Worthington will use the Grapah plant to capture a share of the U.S. market for the larger tanks, said Lampronson.

Forming joint ventures

For small companies in both countries, finding a joint-venture partner may be the most effective strategy for gaining access to the entire North American market. Already, Navtec Ltd., a Newfoundland company that specializes in the research and development of underwater imaging equipment and signal processors, has formed a joint venture with a Connecticut firm, Ship Analytics Inc. Navtec president Frank Smith said that the partners design and build ship-bridge simulators, which are used to train officers of commercial, military and coast guard vessels.

Navtec has gained access to an American sales organization, while Ship Analytics can pursue Canadian contracts more easily and has also benefited from Navtec's technical capabilities. Smith said that his company has learned important lessons from exposure to American sales and marketing techniques. Ship Analytics has seen customers all over the world trying to sell products produced jointly by the two companies. "They're much more aggressive than we are," said Smith.

Capitalizing on the new continental labor market

Besides easing the restrictions on trade and investment, the FTA will create one North American labor pool for executives, professionals, service organizations and industries. Previously, companies in each country had encountered delays, uncertainties and inconsistencies when trying to move employees on temporary work permits across the border. Joseph Gossick, a Niagara Falls, N.Y., lawyer who specializes in immigration work, said that in the past companies had to wait a year to obtain a

HOW TO SURVIVE A MID-LIFE CRISIS. WITH DIGNITY.

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The ferociously quick, incredibly opulent Volvo 740 Turbo. Drive one and the only thing you're likely to embarrass is the other guy.

THE VOLVO 740 TURBO.

EXPERTS SAY CANADA WILL INVEST MORE CAPITAL IN THE UNITED STATES

work permit for its managers. Under the new rules now in effect, immigration officials at major ports of entry can issue renewable, one-year permits initially within a few minutes of an individual has the right documents and is classified as a professional, skilled tradesman.

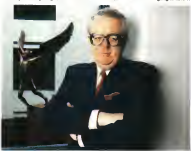
The biggest immigration change under the FTA was the designation of over 40 occupations—including lawyers, architects, teachers, some different types of scientists, engineers, hotel managers and journalists—which are eligible for temporary work permits. The new rules do not affect the current process of securing citizenship or a green card, which grants permanent residence. Gustafson said that the U.S. Immigration Service has assigned special trade officers at major ports of entry such as Toronto, international airports, Vancouver International Airport and the Peace Bridge in Buffalo to process applications. By June 1, about 1,000 Canadians had entered the United States under the recent immigration provisions of the FTA, said John Ridge, assistant director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's Buffalo, N.Y., district office.

The FTA has eased the entry restrictions for investors in both countries. Indeed, Gustafson said that the FTA is the first agreement between Canada and the United States that provides for the issuing of investor visas. In order to obtain the one- or two-year renewable visa, applicants must prove they will make a "substantial" investment in the other country, wording that allows immigration officials great latitude of interpretation. And in both industries, they appear to have been notably accommodating since the FTA went into effect. Although Canadian figures are not yet available, by early June, U.S. consular officials in Canada had issued investor visas to 158 individuals.

Already, the potential benefits of the new North American free market have become evident. Eamon Harkin, president of Cincinnati-based Lenczner Associates, a retail real-estate chain that has grown to about 200 stores and earned sales of \$140 million in five years, said that Canadian employees will gain from better training opportunities and broader market experience. Precourse Lenczner Associates opened its first Canadian store in March 1984, and it now has 11 stores in Quebec, Ontario and Alberta. Staffing the new store surprised him: "It was a lot harder to get people into the border for training and development." He added that as Lenczner becomes more familiar with the new rules, more Canadian employees will be brought to the company's head office for training as they will be assigned to work temporarily in different regions of the United States.

Easing the restrictions on cross-border business travel is expected to result in major

increases in Canadian managerial salaries and compensation packages. Said Douglas Caldwell, chairman of Toronto-based Caldwell Partners International, Canada's largest executive search firm, "Compensation in the United States is much higher for equal jobs than it is in Canada." One recent survey by New York City-based Towers Perrin, a consulting firm that specializes in designing executive salary and compensation packages, showed that the



Noble's new multinational plans to spend millions on upgrading Canadian plants.

average American chief executive officer earns \$400,000, compared with the Canadian average of \$330,400. Even, the cost of living and housing prices are also generally lower in the United States than in Canada. As a result, Canadian companies will be forced to offer competitive salaries or face the loss of top management talent, said Caldwell. But corporate executive directors will likely demand increases in efficiency, productivity and profitability. And executives who fail to perform may be dismissed much more quickly than in the past.

Adapting to a new business culture: Although Canada and the United States share a common language and have similar cultures, the business climates in the two countries is decidedly different: attitudes and business practices vary greatly. In many cases, the differences are a result of the fact that competition in the United States, where many more companies vie for market share in virtually every industry, is much more intense than in Canada.

Ralph Noble, president of Toronto-based

Spangwin Industries Ltd., which produces new plastic that is used in the packaging industry, provides a clear indicator of greater American competitiveness. He said that one-year contracts between suppliers and manufacturers are standard in Canada. But three-month contracts are much more common in the United States, where Spangwin has two plants. Said Noble: "If we have one supplier in Canada, our plant in New Jersey will have 20." As a result, pricing in such close competition in the United States, and American businesses will stretch suppliers for even the slightest variations in price. The three-month contracts also reflect the fact that short-term financial results are more valued in the United States than in Canada. Said Noble: "We're going to have to

change our ways of doing business, because the Americans are not going to change."

Meanwhile, Gurf Chalkinsky, chairman of Toronto-based Complex Odeon Corp., describes the United States as "a market of wonderful opportunities" but added that it can also be a treacherous environment. He said that on several occasions, he has needed negative agreements to buy in American assets, only to have the seller use a Complex offer to bid up the price with other potential buyers. Declared Chalkinsky: "You are almost compelled to lock the parties in a room with a group of lawyers for fear of the challenges when the seller walks out of the room."

Those companies that already have their strategies in place, FTA will be a challenge rather than a threat. With the rise of powerful trading blocs, the giant North American market can eventually provide businesses in both countries with their strongest possible protection.

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BUSINESS

SPREADING THE NET WIDELY

FIRMS TRY FOR FREE TRADE GAINS

His not a come-late-and-takeover artist. But whenever a U.S. textile company is put up for sale or is underwriting for a merger partner, Will Stout, investment banker at Charles Heston, the president and chief executive officer of Montreal-based Domtext Inc. Inc., the demand usually comes in Canada. For the past two years, Domtext has been buying and merging to build the corporate muscle needed to penetrate the U.S. market under the Free Trade Agreement (FTA)—and recently that strategy has been paying dividends. In 1987, it spent \$274 million to buy the Free Mills Inc. denim plant in North Carolina, which made it the largest denim manufacturer in the world. Last year, it spent another \$170 million to purchase Wey-Tex Inc., a Virginia-based producer of moving belts for car clutches. And on March 22, Domtext announced that it was acquiring its Caldwell-based division with C. S. Brooks Corp. of New York City to form the largest ball products supplier in North America. Said Heston, who became president in December, 1986: "We are open to all possibilities."

Fitting in corporate strength is just one part of Domtext's strategy to vanquish its competitors as the new tariff-free North American textile market. Indeed, as early as 1984, Heston's predecessor, Thomas Reik, had concluded that a free trade agreement with the United States was inevitable—and that the company had a prime future when it shifted its focus from the Canadian market, where it already faced increasing pressure from low-cost Third World imports, to the far larger U.S. sector. In response, he crafted a sweeping restructuring plan that was designed to strengthen Domtext's profitable sectors while closing obsolete factories and shutting noncompetitive product lines. But Domtext's still-ongoing free trade strategy has had its costs—including a growing unease among its 13,800 employees, of whom 6,500 are unionized.

Going head to head in the United States—where Domtext's textile market across the 10 biggest textile companies—also has forced a

change in the company's corporate culture. Executives who have wide experience in the more competitive U.S. market—some of them Americans—have been recruited. And, after decades of being managed along geographic lines, the company has shifted to a product-oriented structure. Domtext's major product lines—denim, industrial products, yarn, consumer products, apparel fabrics and colorfastings—now run in individual, international profit centers, making it easier to co-ordinate global strategies.

According to company executives, the international approach gives Domtext an advantage over U.S. competitors who focus on the home market. By co-ordinating production facilities on both sides of the border, Domtext can quickly lay out new markets in the United States or Canada or retreat quickly a product becomes unprofitable.

Under the FTA, all textile tariffs will be eliminated within 10 years. That has forced Domtext, which maintains 14 subsidiary companies and had 1986 sales of \$1.2 billion, to make hard choices among firms that it believes can no longer free trade and those that cannot. Since 1984, it has spent \$200 million opening facilities and building new lines to produce denim fabrics, industrial products and yarn yarns—the products that the firm's customers say will grow during an eight in the United States. Said Heston: "We cannot win in the United States by trying to be all things to all people."

At the same time, 15 noncompetitive Canadian plants—most of a total of 30—have been closed or merged with other operations, with a loss of about 2,000 jobs. The latest move came in February when Domtext eliminated about 425 jobs in Quebec. The cuts followed as \$14-million investment to increase plant efficiency in Brampton, Que., and Sherbrooke, Que., eliminated 573 jobs.

Executives with the 85-year-old man-

ager say that Domtext is doing its best to cushion the blows for the victims of its trade strategy. The company gives six-month advance notice before plant closing and it pays employees for the entire six-month period, whether they stay on the job or not. Workers also receive a generous severance package based on length of service to the company. And, the firm has set up a committee that includes Domtext representatives, union members and job placement consultants to help find new jobs for laid-off employees, either at or outside the company.

But the leaders of some of Domtext's severed unions say that the company's approach has not been gentle. Said Jean-Paul Hara, president of the Central des syndicats d'ouvriers, a union that represents workers at some of Domtext's Quebec plants: "It's 10 years before all of the textile duties came off. Why are all these workers needed immediately?"

Heston counters that the strategy is necessary and that he will continue to build a presence south of the border in the most direct way possible. And, he says, U.S. textile leaders will have to follow suit.

JOHN DEMONST in Montreal

Heston: when the phone rings, it may be Wall



For all the accolades, Telesat Communications Corp., a subsidiary of the telecommunications giant U.S. Sprint, does not get away from a challenge: The British, via their company, which sells its telecommunications products and services worldwide, has already built the largest commercial international public data network in the world. But with the signing of the Free Trade Agreement, and the elimination of all tariffs on telecommunications equipment, Telesat is preparing to face one of its toughest tasks yet—outranking the Canadian market. Although Telesat has been conducting business in Canada since 1978, securing a bigger share of the market will involve competing directly with domestic telecommunications giant Northern Telecom Ltd. Said Christopher Rooney, Telesat's non-president for International Systems: "Companies like Northern Telecom have done quite well in the United States. We just want to turn that trend around."

In fact, Telesat is upped as the move in Canada. In May, it signed a \$25-million (U.S.) contract to provide OHG Telecommunications with a large-scale packet switching network for transmitting data—Telesat's biggest Canadian contract yet. Moreover, the company also stands to profit from the talks it is keeping with U.S. companies that are searching for ways to make gains in the Canadian market under free trade.

Telesat managers say they hope that within three years Canadian sales will account for five to 10 per cent of the company's approximately \$270 million (U.S.) in annual foreign sales. But its most immediate pressures are concerns over the expected tariff-free market share. Said William Myers, Northern Telecom Canada Ltd.'s assistant vice-president of sales: "I am concerned that as the cost we will come out on top."

But Telesat has planned its free trade strategy carefully. During the past 24 months, it has conducted an extensive education program for its sales force to explain the FTA and the new Canadian opportunities that will emerge for U.S. companies as a result of the deal. And instead of hiring outside consultants to advise it on tackling the Canadian market, Telesat recruited several Canadian-born marketing people who will work out of the company's regional offices. And they will be focusing mainly on Canadian sales. Telesat's big strategy in Canada is "to help big things in Canada."

Telesat will concentrate its selling high-speed data transmission in the Canadian market. Its sales



Rooney: from Virginia, a challenge to the dominance of Northern Telecom

products are switching systems that break computer data into small sections known as "packets," which can be sent along on one of several "paths" being routed to their destination by powerful switching processors. The company claims that the process allows customers to use free transmission and allows large numbers of individual users to operate simultaneously on the same network.

Although Telesat's products are in wide use elsewhere internationally, so far, sales in the Canadian market have been relatively sparse. Current clients include some U.S. subsidiaries, such as DuPont and Rockwell. That financial information firm is hooked into Telesat's public data network, which links users all over the world. And some companies use Telesat's electronic mail systems, which allow people inside and outside corporations, governments and other organizations to communicate electronically.

But Telesat's activity in Canada may soon increase dramatically. According to company research, the Canadian market for new packet-switching equipment and systems has been growing by a steady 30 per cent a year for the past five years to an estimated \$245 million (U.S.) for 1988 with Northern Telecom largely meeting the demand.

Telesat has wide experience operating in foreign countries and it will likely enjoy early success in Canada. And the company will have more easily identified target clients in the

Canadian market. U.S. banks, investment companies and other financial services firms that are making their initial foray into Canada and need to reach offices nationwide and across the world are some of Telesat's most promising customers. Said Rooney: "We have held conversations with a number of clients thinking of coming to Canada." As well, Telesat will also attempt to expand its Canadian client base to include corporations involved in activities ranging from Western mining projects to the development of the Alberta oilfield off the coast of Newfoundland.

In the face of that determined challenge, Northern Telecom's Myers presents an image of complete calm. He says that his company has completed head-to-head trials with Telesat in many international markets and won a larger share of business. Publicly, at least, the company has no specific strategy for dealing with its new competitor on its home market. Myers acknowledges that the company might eventually have to cut its prices to compete against the now-cheaper American imports. But then, Northern Telecom is also in a position to export its own telecommunications equipment into the bigger U.S. market at lower prices to a result of tariff elimination. Declined Myers: "Overall, our company is a clear winner from the Free Trade Agreement." Ultimately, though, Telesat may have something to say about that.

JOHN DEMONST

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MORE THAN A MILLION CANADIANS MAKE THEIR HOMES IN LOS ANGELES

fully styled away and frayed one of them. Keeping the drink out of the sidewalk, resolved the pipe used to smoke it, then took the vodka's tag and placed it to the middle of the street. He stopped an oncoming truck, leaped the lighter under the front wheel and waved the driver on.

Too much crime, too much poverty, too much violence—Los Angeles shines so so tarnish. It is a city that remains calm in the face of drive-by shootings and earthquakes: everyone waits for the Big One. But Hollywood still manages to manufacture some of North America's most reassuring images of security. On *Seventeenth* (it is *Seventeenth* Street), the set scenes *Family* Tim was wrapping up its seventh and final season. Michael J. Fox, the repenter from *Backyard*, B.C., showed up far refreshed dressed in blue jeans, a black T-shirt and a black sports jacket. He used to drive a Ferrari to work, at breakfasting people. Now that he is married, he has moved down to a greater, kinder car. "I got this big German tank, a monster BMW," he said, adding that he does not miss the last one. "I really love being married."

But his present wife, actress Tracy Pollan, like him a baby boy, Sam, on May 30 was not seeing much of her new husband. He was working day and night, commuting from Pasadena to Universal Studios, where he was filming *Back to the Future* again, back to work. Said Fox: "They really get me killed" on TV he working from 5 this afternoon until 5 tomorrow morning.

For still cherishes his ties with Canada. Until recently, he played on the *Golden Age* All Stars hockey team with such teammates as actor and fellow Canadian Alan Thicke. In a friendly game against the son, Old Times last year, opponent Bobby Orr offered to set up a trade: say for Fox. "He said he'd let me join the pack-through his bags," said Fox. "I'd forgotten about it, and the other players were in my way to get past Orr. The pack just bounced off his skate, and I got around him for a breakaway. As first, I was so excited that I'd beaten Bobby Orr—that I remembered that he'd played the whole thing." New there is no time for hockey. Fox asked "Your brother change when you get married?" The answer was not direct by a crew member telling him that his wife was on the phone. "See what I mean?" he said, darting off to take the call.

Around the corner is a tax office was working on Canada's *Resident* tax law editor, Kate Ford, a 34-year-old from Toronto. "Kate, I'm not dead," is pretty kickin' butt." Indeed, after two years of working for Tim, Ford has written *3000*, a movie comedy that Columbia Pictures will start filming soon. "It's about girl gangs in the 1980s who dance in the streets,"

said Ford, who has a serious face framed by dark blond hair "that it will probably be filmed in Toronto, hopefully right in front of North Toronto College." That is where she was in school, while socializing as a nightclub Canadiana Ford, who left Canada when she was 22, values her roots. "I don't think it's a coincidence that there are so many Canadians

a city full of Hispanic cooks, dentists and parking valets.

Howard chose closely to her own expatriate community. Over a month, she played around with a group of Canadians on the Culver City Club where the NFL's Los Angeles Rams practice. "There's a very strong Canadian grapevine," she said. "Everybody's asking each other all these questions—'Where you live? How did you get your working papers?' I'll tell you doctors, though, I'd be working in Canada. I think most of us would like to be back home."

Some of their American envied would like to see their lives—Canadians have become serious competitors. Two of the three leading roles



Crisie (left), Orr: movie scenes from 'A Careless Whisper'

here and that they're so good," she said. "It's not being in the American mainstream, and not having a star system, they have in week that much better. They have a completely different perspective."

Every year between January and March, Canadian actors arrive in Los Angeles in droves, and just to the left of the city is a million for new TV shows. Said Lisa Howard, a 34-year-old actress born in Kingston, Ont., who moved to Los Angeles last year: "I've seen lots, and they all come down. It's very comforting." Howard has a steady job as the NBC daytime soap *Days of Our Lives*. I talked to her in her cramped dressing room, where she was in costume—black athletic leotards and a blue dress skirt—waiting to play another day in the life of April, a Hispanic girl in perpetual trouble. It seemed a strange twist of casting in

as last year's short-lived sci-fi drama series *Studio 54* went to Canadiana. Kerrie Kenne and Wendy Crewson. "It's a little easier," said Kenne over breakfast. "The actors here are up to arms because the Canadians are taking so many roles. But Canadians of American are going up in Canada to take roles like U.S. professionals." As with almost every Hollywood Canadian that is on the scene, Kenne's affection for Canada is mixed with bitterness. She added: "You can't spend too long in the country that doesn't respect its own. Canada is a wonderful training ground, but they don't want anyone to get ahead of anyone else."

Gerard stood in the name of the game in Hollywood. And Canadian newcomers trying to find a place on the board often start by looking at popular Ralph Thomas and his wife, producer, Vivienne Leacock. Former *Melrose*,



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tue two policemen pinning a spread-eagled black youth against the wall. Again Kane turned to her father and said, "Our hero, Dad."

One of television's most popular fathers is Alan Thicke, star of the ABC family sitcom *Growing Pains*. Born as Randall Latta, Thicke now lives in Toluca Lake on L.A. splats, where he owns a salmon-colored stucco mansion on a 2½-acre lot with tennis courts and a pool. Just five years ago he and two sons were living in a cramped two-bedroom bungalow, and he was coping with the failure both of his marriage and his first career as a TV talk-show host. He was the 120th person called to audition for *Growing Pains*. "They'd looked at everybody in town," he explained, "and somebody finally said, 'Why don't we get an Alan Thicke type? It was an oddball piece of casting and it worked!'"

At his house, Thicke sat behind a desk as an office glowered with letters and memos, from his high-school graduation certificate to his picture on the cover of *Playboy*. One of *Growing Pains*' old Executive Order sweeties looks on disloyal. Thicke, who plays senior hockey in two local leagues, credits *Growing Pains* as a best friend, along with Canadian record producer David Foster. "The three of us have got together a lot of times together," Thicke said, "and in the past couple of years, we've all seen in hindsight some odd and marriage crumble." Thicke's divorce, which resulted in shared custody of his two sons, made him a more devoted parent, he said. The father in *Growing Pains* "is a little different than me," he added, "but it's a character I have created out of self-recognition of my holes and assets as a parent."

Influenced by the best of American and British TV, Canadians have their own style in comedy. Thicke said "There's John Gundy's mother-of-all-inequality. Michael Peck's outrageous, San Francisco's across-the-board—we're all straight ones." Meanwhile, Thicke tried to arrange for Foster, a musical-splendid man with no acting experience, to audition for the father's role on a new NBC sitcom pilot. "You said quietly casting," Thicke said and he told the director "I've got a guy for you."

I found Foster in Malibu, at the end of a long drive up the blue edge of the Pacific coast. Not far from the beach, his studio lot on a new slanted property with gardens and tennis courts in a covered room stacked with 34 synthesizer keyboards, he and his engineers were constructing rhythmic tracks for a new song. Most afternoon, they break for a game of double tennis in shorts. They picked up



James, *Growing Pains*, after the game, a shaggy in a gold shirt

rewards from a bag by the door and emerged into the California sun.

Latter, I went with Foster to the L.A. Forum for a hockey game, taking a long detour to Malibu to pick up his father, actress Linda Jensen, and their three children from previous marriages. The driveway was jammed. We passed the house looking over the hill in the last line. Foster, 38, who has worked with stars ranging from Madonna to Paul McCartney, is a renowned workaholic. Like Thicke, he was persuaded by divorce to enter fatherhood as part therapy—he has five children who thrive. "I don't like to work more than six hours a day now," he said. Describing his friendship with Thicke and Foster, he added "It's like we have this little secret together. As Canadians, we're taught we can't compete with Americans. And here we are, each of us successful in entertainment."

At the Forum, after two periods of lousy hockey, the Calgary Flames needed the Kings 3-2, and the final period turned into an ugly brawl. Foster led the way to the dressing room after the game. Grizzly who had changed into a gold shirt sat before us, looking dejected and was "Hi Grizzly—we're so sorry we lost it," said Foster. Grizzly shrugged. "The sun will come up on the morning," he said. Outside the dressing room, Foster's friends, Linda, hugged and kissed Grizzly, telling him "You look like you lost a lot of weight at those tonight." Said Grizzly: "I lost it but my dad lost more."

The next night, the Great One was a special guest at the Juvénile Diabetes Foundation's 25th-anniversary gala, where Kago owner Steve McNall was honored as KJF Man of the Year.

The event was staged in a vast stadium of concrete and glass, around tables draped in black cloth speckled with silver glitter, each with a centerpiece of blue burning from a white figure. The stars on hand included Dudley Moore, Andy Williams, Renee Russo—and Joan Rivers, who and about the hockey players in the crowd. "It's nice to see men in formal suits so much."

Grizzly and his previous bride created the most connection at the event, which marked their first openly Hollywood appearance together. Asked how he likes life in Los Angeles, Grizzly replied "It's really different. I was always around tremendously in Canada, but it's really nice to be able to sit down in a restaurant and know that people aren't staring at me." In Hollywood, where stars are common and the famous can go unrecognized, the Great One had found a measure of anonymity. And although his fame would not make the Stanley Cup final, the deficit would leave him free to host

as cohost of NBC's *Saturday Night Live* in May. Now if he can just find a mid-air landing school, he may even begin to feel at home—and perhaps score a win on the Wall of Fame.

MAGAZINE'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Name House*, by David (2)
- 2 *A Prayer for Owen Meany*, Jerry (2)
- 3 *The Grapes of Wrath*, F. Scott (16)
- 4 *Sea, Star* (2)
- 5 *The Diamond*, by Henry (2)
- 6 *The Death of Henry*, Shalini (2)
- 7 *The Secret Verse*, Barbara (7)
- 8 *Car's Eye*, Abner (2)
- 9 *Billy Badger*, Christine
- 10 *The Temple of Holy Mother*, Foster (2)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Love and Marriage*, Jerry (2)
- 2 *Going Wild*, MacLean (2)
- 3 *Women Menstrual Cycle*, Herman (2)
- 4 *A Brief History of Time*, Hawking (2)
- 5 *Stone the Sun*, Foster (2)
- 6 *Whodunnit*, MacLean (2)
- 7 *The Secret Verse*, Barbara (7)
- 8 *The Death of Henry*, Shalini (2)
- 9 *Car's Eye*, Abner (2)
- 10 *The Temple of Holy Mother*, Foster (2)

Compiled by David McFarlane

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